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SOME FEATURES OF GANDA LINGUISTIC STRUCTURE, PART 3.

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THIS PAPER IS THE THIRD PART OF A THREE-PART ARTICLE DEALING WITH CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE LINGUISTIC STRUCTURE OF GANDA. THE SPECIFIC CONCERNS OF THIS PART ARE QUALIFICATIVES (ADJECTIVES, ENUMERATIVES, QUANTITATIVES, AND POSSESSIVES) AND VERBAL RADICALS AND AFFIXES. LISTS ARE PROVIDED IN ENGLISH AND GANDA, DESCRIBING EXAMPLES PERTAINING TO EACH SUBJECT AREA. OTHER PARTS OF THIS STUDY ARE ED 003 937 AND ED 003 938. (GD)

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Title

SOME FEATURES OF GANDA LINGUISTIC STRUCTURE, PART 3

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Part Three*

Chapter 5

QUALIFICATIVES

5.1.0. INTRODUCTION.

5.1.1. Four types of qualificatives are described here, these being conveniently labelled

(*a*) Adjectives,
(*b*) Enumeratives,
(*c*) Quantitatives,
(*d*) Possessives.

These terms should not be construed as necessarily having any semantic implications; they refer to structural categories which might alternatively be labelled (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), (*d*), or (1), (2), (3), (4). Relative clause constructions, not described here, constitute a fifth type of qualificative, and there may be yet others, including Invariables, which, syntactically, fill qualificative slots but do not manifest concordial agreements.

5.1.2. Each of these four types of qualificative consists of at least two morphological entities, concordial prefix plus stem, and each may occur either dependently or independently.

(*a*) A Dependent Qualificative occupies a syntactic slot following an antecedent noun, pronoun or other independent substantive, with which it is in concordial agreement, e.g.

ǒmúlẽnzí ǒmúwãnvù	(a tall boy)
ǒmùlẽnzì ǒmùwãnvù ãgẽnzè	(The tall boy has gone)
ˈndábà ǒmúlẽnzí ǒmúwãnvù	(I see the tall boy)

(*b*) An Independent Qualificative occurs without antecedent, as subject or object in the clause or sentence, or as the basis for inflection in possessive, pseudoverbal or adverbial constructions. It refers concordially to a noun or pronoun which is only implied contextually, or which is expressed but not in antecedent relationship with it. Examples:

ǒmùwãnvù ãgẽnzè	(The tall one has gone)
ˈndábà ǒmùwãnvù	(I see the tall one)
ǒmùlẽnzì mùwãnvù	(The boy is tall)
mùwãnvù	(He is tall)
ãmágúlú góómúwãnvù	(the legs of the tall one)

* Parts One and Two appeared in *African Studies*, Vol. 24, Nos. 1 and 2, 1965.

5.2.0. ADJECTIVES.

5.2.1. Ganda adjectives, like nouns, consist of at least three substrate morphemes, IV, BP and Stem (see 2.1.1). The two prefixal morphemes, IV and BP, are identical in canonical form with the corresponding noun prefixes, and have very much the same range of allomorphs and allomorphic distributions. The IV of the adjectival prefix seems to behave in exactly the same way as that of the noun prefix. Tonomorphologically also, adjectives seem to behave like nouns (see Chapter 3), and their basic tonomorphemes occur in the forms without IV.

5.2.2. Table of Adjectival Prefixes:

	IV	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Cl. 1	o-	mu-		~ muu-	~ mw-
2	a-	ba-		~ baa-	~ b-
3	o-	mu-		~ muu-	~ mw-
4	e-	mi-		~ mii-	~ my-
5	e-	#-	~ li-	~ lii-	~ ly- (≃ #-)
6	a-	ma-		~ maa-	~ m-
7	e-	ki-		~ kii-	~ ky-
8	e-	bi-		bii-	~ by-
9	e-	N-	—	—	—
10	e-	N-	—	—	—
11	o-	lu-		~ luu-	~ lw-
12	a-	ka-		~ kaa-	~ k-
13	o-	tu-		~ tuu-	~ tw-
14	o-	bu-		~ buu-	~ bw-
15	o-	ku-		~ kuu-	~ kw-
20	o-	gu-		~ guu-	~ gw-
22	a-	ga-		~ gaa-	~ g-

Notes:

(*a*) The IV is identical with that of the corresponding noun prefix. Except in Cl. 5, 9, 10 /**e-**/, when preceding CC or NN, the IV is phonemically a double vowel /**oo**, **-aa-**, **ee-**/, but is represented orthographically by a single vowel symbol.

(*b*) Set (1) occurs before C.

(*c*) Set (2) occurs before CC, NN and N. Blanks in this set indicate that the form is identical with that in Set (1).

(*d*) Set (3) occurs before NC. Phonemically this set has double vowels throughout, but is represented orthographically with single vowel symbols, e.g. //**mu-**, **ba-**, **mi-**//, etc.

(*e*) Set (4) occurs before V, i.e. with vowel-commencing stems. In Cl. 5 the occurrence of /**#-**/ with yV allomorphs of these stems is dialectally alternative to /**ly-**/ with the VV allomorphs.

(*f*) In Cl. 9 and 10, with prefix /**N-**/, stems commencing in CC, NN, NC and VV have allomorphs commencing in /**ziC**, **yiN**, **yiNC**, **yV**/, respectively.

(*g*) The adjectival prefixes for Cl. 16, 17, 18, 23, are not exemplified in our data.

(*h*) The morphophonemic processes associated with Cl. 5 /**#-**/ and Cl. 9, 10 /**N-**/ are described in 1.5.1 f.

5.2.3. By comparison with most other Bantu languages, Ganda has a very large number of adjectival stems. Many of these are derived from verbal radicals or verb perfect stems, while a number appear to be identical with noun stems. The latter pose the problem

as to whether they are fundamentally noun stems or adjectival stems. The distributional criterion, that adjectival stems may occur with the full range of prefixes whereas noun stems occur only with a restricted number of prefixes, is not so easy to apply in Ganda where transference of noun stems from class to class by substitution of prefixes is a common phenomenon. The following list of adjectival stems is by no means exhaustive.

(*a*) V-commencing Stems (*Note* 1):

-ãngú	~	**-yãngú**	(light in weight, quick, fast, easy, simple)
-áávù	~	**-yávù**	(poor, indigent)
-áátìfú	~	**-yátìfú**	(cracked)
cf. **kw.ãtìká**			(to become cracked), 15
-ééléélé	~	**-yéléélé**	(empty, bare, cleared, naked, alone)
-éélú	~	**-yélù**	(white)
-ẽngèvú	~	**-yẽngèvú**	(ripe)
cf. **kw.ẽngèlá**			(to become ripe), 15
-òòkyê	~	**-yòkyê**	(roasted)
cf. **kw.õkyá**			(to roast), 15
-óólè	~	**-yólè**	(carved, whittled)
cf. **kw.ôlá**			(to carve, hollow out), 15

(*b*) NC-commencing Stems (*Note* 2):

-ˈmpì	~	**-yĩmpì**	(short)
-ˈngì	~	**-yĩngì**	(much, many) (*Note* 3)

(*c*) CC-commencing Stems (*Note* 2):

-ˋbbí	~	**-zíbì**	(thieving)
cf. **kûbbá**			(to steal), 15
-ˈddùgàvú	~	**-zílùgàvú**	(black)
-ˈggùlú	~	**-zígùlú**	(filthy, dirty)
-ˋggyâ	~	**-pyâ**	(new) (*Note* 4)

(*d*) NN-commencing Stems (*Note* 2):

-ˈnnyògòvú	~	**-yínyògòvú**	(cold)

Notes: 1. The yV allomorphs occur with the Cl. 9, 10 prefix /**N-**/, and alternatively with Cl. 5 / **#-**/.

2. The yiNC, ziC and yiN allomorphs occur with the Cl 9, 10 prefix /**N-**/.

3 Forms based on the stem /**-ˈngì**/ rarely have an IV.

4 The allomorph /**-pyâ**/ occurs with the Cl 9, 10 prefix /N-/, and as an alternative to /**-ˋggyâ**/ with the Cl 5 prefix /**li- ~ #-**/, e g /**ẽmméézà ẽmpyâ**/ (a new table), /**ẽffúmù ẽlĩggyà ≃ ẽppyâ**/ (a new spear).

(*e*) C-commencing Stems:

-bî	(bad)
-bísì	(raw, uncooked, unripe)
cf. **mùbísì**	(banana juice, syrup), 3
-fû	(dead)
cf. **kùfâ**	(to die), 15
-fũmbè	(cooked, boiled)
cf. **kùfũmbá**	(to cook, boil), 15
-fũndâ	(narrow)
-gàyáàvú	(idle, lazy, remiss)
cf. **kùgáyáálá**	(to be neglectful), 15
-gàzî	(wide, broad)
-gényí	(foreign, visiting)
-gẽvvù	(fat)

-gézì	(clever, wise)
-gìmû	(fertile, of soil; well-developed, of people or animals)
-gìmúfù	(well-grown, healthy, of plants)
-gõnvù	(soft, tender, easy, simple; polite, gentle, of people)
-gùmû	(strong, durable; bold, brave, of people)
-jéémù	(rebellious, disobedient)
cf. **kùjéémá**	(to rebel, revolt), 15
-kãddé	(old, worn-out)
-kákànyávú	(tough, dried out)
-kálù	(dry, dried up)
-kálùbó	(hard)
-kãmbwé	(fierce, ferocious)
-kóówù	(tired, weary)
cf. **kùkóówá**	(to become tired), 15
-kővvù	(thin, lean)
-kúlù	(full-grown, adult, old, senior)
cf. **kùkúlà**	(to grow up, mature), 15
-kwâfú	(solid, hard)
-kyâmú	(crooked, warped)
-lálá	(another, other, different, additional)
-làlû	(mad, crazy, stubborn)
cf. **mùlàlû**	(mad person), 1
-lãmbâ	(whole, complete, uncut)
-làmû	(healthy, sound, undamaged)
cf. **bùlàmû**	(health, life), 14
-lèbévù	(slack, loose, weak)
-lôndé	(elected, chosen)
cf. **kùlôndá**	(to choose, elect, select), 15
-lõngòòfú	(morally good or clean)
-lúmè	(male — of animals)
-lűngì	(good, fine, nice, beautiful)
-lúúsí	(female — of animals)
-lwâddé	(sick, ill)
cf. **kùlwâlá**	(to be ill), 15
-mànyífù	(well-known)
-mànyílìvú	(expert, experienced, knowledgeable)
-ménYèfú	(broken)
cf. **kùménYèká**	(to break, int.), 15
-myűfù	(red, brown)
cf. **kùmyűká**	(to become red), 15
-náfú	(weak, feeble; lazy, indolent)
-nénè ~ -lénè	(large, big) (*Note* 1)
-nyìlívù	(well-groomed, smart, well-fed, in good condition)
-sáákàávú	(hoarse)
-sáàwé	(mown, cleared, cleaned)
-sányùfú	(joyful, happy, pleased)
cf. **kùsányùká**	(to be pleased, happy), 15
-sìbê	(locked, tethered)
cf. **kùsíbá**	(to bind, tie up), 15

-ɛ́límɛ̂	(quiet)
cf. **kùsíliká**	(to become quiet), 15
-sṍngòvú	(pointed, sharpened)
cf. **kùsṍngólá**	(to sharpen to a point), 15
-tálävvú	(rusty)
cf. **kùtáläggá**	(to rust), 15
-tàmíivú	(drunk, intoxicated)
cf. **kùtámíílá**	(to become drunk), 15
-tégèèvú	(discerning, intelligent)
cf. **kùtégèèlá**	(to understand), 15
-télèèvú	(straight)
-tô	(young)
-tónó	(little, small, few)
-tṍngòlé	(official)
-tùkúvù	(clean)
-túùfú	(correct, true, truthful)
-vṹndú	(rotten, bad, decayed)
cf. **kùvṹndá**	(to rot), 15
-wãnvù	(tall, long, high)
-wê	(given free, gift)
cf. **kùwâ**	(to give), 15
-wéwùfú	(light in weight)
-wólù ≃ -wóvù	(cold, cooled)
cf. **kùwólà**	(to become cool), 15
-yṍnjò	(clean)
-yùlífù	(torn, rent)
cf. **kùyúlíká**	(to become torn), 15
-yúùgányí	(vacillating, fickle, unsettled)
-zíbú	(difficult; rare)
-zító	(heavy)

Note: 1. The allomorph /**-lénè**/ occurs only with the Cl. 5 prefix /**#-**/, e.g. **ɛ̃ggî ɛ̃ddénè** (a large egg).

5.2.4. Examples of adjectives:

ämàgî ämɛ́ɛ̀lú	(white eggs)
ɛ̃ggî ɛ̃lyêlú ≃ ɛ̃jjélù	(a white egg)
ɛ̃ndígá ɛ̃njélù	(white sheep)
ɛ̃mbàláàsì ɛ̃nnyãngú	(fast horse(s))
ɔ̃múlɛ̃nzí ɔ̃mṹmpì	(a short boy)
ɛ̃ffúmù ɛ̃lĩmpì	(a short spear)
ɛ̃mpálè ɛ̃nnyĩmpì	(short trousers)
äbãntú bãngì	(many people) (*Note* 1)
ɛ̃mbúzì ˈnnyĩngì	(many goats) (*Note* 1)
ɔ̃mwânà ɔ̃mûbbí	(a thieving child)
ɛ̃mbwâ ɛ̃nzíbì	(thieving dog(s))
ɔ̃mùsótà ɔ̃mṹddùgàvú	(a black snake)
ɛ̃ppéésà ɛ̃lĩddùgàvú	(a black button)
ɛ̃mbúzì ɛ̃nzílùgàvú	(black goat(s))
ɔ̃múdúmú ɔ̃mṹggyà	(a new jug)
ɛ̃njû ɛ̃mpyâ	(new house(s))

ẽlyâtò ẽlĩggyà ≃ ẽppyâ	(a new canoe)
ãmâzzì ãmãnnyògòvú	(cold water)
ẽmméɪe ẽnnyínyògòvú	(cold food)
ỗlùgóyè ỗlùyúlìfú	(a torn cloth)
ẽngóyè ẽnjùlífù	(torn cloths)
ẽbítóómí ẽbígõnvù	(soft mud)
ẽnnyámá ẽŋŋõnvù	(tender meat)
ẽmbúzì ẽnnúmè	(male goat(s))
ẽmbúzì ẽndúúsí	(female goat(s))
ãbãntú ãbálûngí	(good people)
ẽmìsótà ẽmìnénè	(large snakes)
ẽjjĩnjá ẽddénè	(a large stone)
ẽddáálâ ẽlínáfú	(a weak ladder)
ẽffúmù ẽggwãnvù	(a long spear)
ẽkítábó ẽkízító	(a heavy book)
ẽjjĩnjá ẽzzító	(a heavy stone)

Note: 1. Forms based on the stem /- **'ngì**/ rarely have an IV.

5.2.5. Adjectival Pseudoverbs:

The simplest type of adjectival pseudoverb, like the nominal pseudoverb, consists of basic prefix plus stem, without initial vowel. It is in these forms, without IV, that the basic tonomorphemes occur. Examples:

ãmàgî méèlú	(The eggs are white)
ẽndìgà 'njélù	(The sheep is/are white)
ỗmùlẽnzì mũmpì	(The boy is short)
ỗlùgóyè lùyùlífù	(The cloth is torn)
ỗmùdùmù mũggyâ	(The jug is new)
ẽnnyàmà 'ŋŋõnvù	(The meat is tender)
ẽkìtàbò kìzító	(The book is heavy)
ãbãntù bãngì	(The people are many)
mũddùgàvú	(It — snake — is black)
bàwãnvù	(They — boys — are tall)

5.3.0. ENUMERATIVES.

5.3.1. Like most Bantu languages, Ganda has a very limited number of enumerative stems. These are:

-mû	(one (sg. only); some (pl. only))
-bílì	(two)
-sátù	(three)
-nâ ~ -nyâ	(four)
-táànó	(five)
-mèká?	(how many?)

The allomorph /**-nyâ**/ (four) occurs only with the Cl. 10 prefix / **#-**/, /**-nâ**/ with all others.

5.3.2. The enumerative prefixes are conveniently tabulated in three sets. Initial Vowels occur only with those prefixes which consist of CV or / **#-**/, never with those which consist of vowels only. As a general rule the IVs do not occur with enumeratives when dependent, while they do not appear to be used at all with forms based on /**-mèká**/ (how many?). When used with enumeratives, the IV seems to give a more emphatic or

specific connotation. In the tabulation below the IVs are demarcated by hyphens. Except in the Cl. 10 sequence /**e #-**/, Set (3), all prefixal elements (IVs and concordial prefixes) consisting of vowels only are phonemically double vowels, though represented orthographically by single vowel symbols.

5.3.3. Table of Enumerative Prefixes:

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Cl. 1	**o-**	—	—
2	—	**a-ba-**	**a-ba-**
3	**o-gu-**	—	—
4	—	**e-gi-**	**e-**
5	**e-li-**	—	—
6	—	**a-ga-**	**a-**
7	**e-ki-**	—	—
8	—	**e-bi-**	**e-bi-**
9	**e-**	—	—
10	—	**e-zi-**	**e- #-**
11	**o-lu-**	—	—
12	**a-ka-**	—	—
14	—	**o-bu-**	**o-bu-**
15	**o-ku-**	—	—
20	**o-gu-**	—	—
22	—	**a-ga-**	**a-**

Notes:

(*a*) Set (1) occurs only with stem /**-mû**/ (one), in singular classes.
(*b*) Set (2) occurs only with stem /**-mû**/ (some), in plural classes.
(*c*) Set (3) occurs with all other stems. IV does not occur with forms based on /**-mèká**/ (how many?).
(*d*) The enumerative prefixes for Cl. 13, 16, 17, 18, 23, are not exemplified in our data.
(*e*) The morphophonemic process associated with Cl. 10 / **#-**/ is described in 1.5.2.

5.3.4. Examples of enumeratives:

ŏmŭntù ŏmû	(one person)
ăbăntù bàmû	(some people)
ĕbìtàbò bìnâ	(four books)
ăbàlĕnzì bàtáànó	(five boys)
ĕndìgà ʻbbílì	(two sheep)
ĕntè ʻssátù	(three cattle)
ĕnkókò ʻnnyâ	(four chickens)
ĕmìsótà ĕsátù	(three snakes)
ămàyúbà ăbílì	(two doves)
ŏbwămbè bùmèká?	(how many knives?)
ĕmbúzì ʻmmèká?	(how many goats?)
ĕmbwâ ʻttáànó	(five dogs)
ĕggî ĕlímû	(the one egg)
ăbámû băzzê	(Some — people — have come)
ăbálĕnzí ăbábìlí	(the two boys)
ăbábìlí băzzê	(The two have come)
ăbàwálà ăbátàánó	(the five girls)

ōyágálá báméká?	(How many do you want?)
ˈnjágálá bábílì	(I want two)
ˈnjágálá ābábìlí	(I want the two)

Note the tonal substitutions when the IV is used. These are the same for all classes in which the IV may occur.

Without IV	With IV
bàmû	**ābámû**
bàbílì	**ābábìlí**
bàsátù	**ābásàtú**
bànâ	**ābánâ**
bàtáànó	**ābátàànó**

5.4.0. QUANTITATIVES.

5.4.1. Quantitatives, unlike other qualificatives, have forms for the 1st and 2nd persons as well as for the various classes. The quantitative prefixes are composed of two substrate morphemes, a concordial consonant or consonant cluster, and a particle /**-o-** ∞ **-e-**/, phonemically /**-oo-** ∞ **-ee-**/ when preceding NC. The allomorph /**-e-**/ occurs with the concordial prefixes of the 1st and 2nd p., sg. and pl., and Cl. 1, while /**-o-**/ occurs in all other classes. Quantitative prefixes do not have Initial Vowels.

5.4.2. Ganda has only five quantitative stems, of which the last three listed below occur only in plural classes.

- ˈkkâ	(only, alone)
- ˈnnâ	(all, the whole; any, whatsoever)
- ˈmbî	(both)
- ˈmbílìlí	(both — more emphatic than /**- ˈmbî**/)
- ˈnsátùlé	(all three)

5.4.3. Table of Quantitative Prefixes:

Singular[1]		Plural[1]			
1st p.	**ˈnzè-**	1st p.	**ˈffè-**	≃	**fè-**
2nd p.	**wè-**	2nd p.	**ˈmmwè-**	≃	**mwè-**
Cl. 1	**yè-**	Cl. 2	**bò-**		
3	**gwò-**	4	**gyò-**		
5	**lyò-**	6	**gò-**		
7	**kyò-**	8	**byò-**		
9	**yò-**	10	**zò-**		
11	**lwò-**				
12	**kò-**	14	**bwò-**		
13	**twò-**				
15	**kwò-**				
16	**wò-**				
17	**kwò-**				
18	**mwò-**				
20	**gwò-**	22	**gò-**		
23	**yò-**				

[1] Or Neutral, where applicable.

5.4.4. Examples of Quantitatives:

ˈnzēkkâ	(only I, I alone)
āgēnzè yēkkâ	(He went alone)
ˈffēnnâ	(all of us)
ˈmmwēmbî ≃ ˈmmwēmbílílí	(both of you)
bōnsátùlé	(all three of them)
ābāntú bōnnâ	(all the people)
ēmbúzì yōnnâ	(a whole goat; any goat)
ēnté zōnnâ	(all the cattle)
āmàgî gōmbî ≃ gōmbílílí	(both eggs)
ēbítábó byōnsátùlé	(all three books)
ōlwēyó lwōkkâ	(only a broom)
bōnnâ bāzzê	(All of them have come)
bōmbî ≃ bōmbílílì bágēnzè	(Both of them have gone)
byōnsátùlè bīggyâ	(All three of them — books — are new)
ˈnjágálá byōnsátùlé	(I like all three of them)

5.5.0. POSSESSIVES.

5.5.1. Possessives may be formed from nouns, independent adjectives and pronominal possessive stems of all persons and classes by affixing the appropriate possessive prefix. It is probable that possessives may be formed also from other pronominal and independent qualificative forms, e.g. demonstratives, enumeratives, possessives, etc., but this has not yet been investigated. Possessives may have IVs when independent but not when dependent.

5.5.2. The Possessive Prefixes are conveniently tabulated in three sets, with which we list also the IVs.

	IV	(1)	(2)	(3)
Cl. 1	o-	w-	waa-	wuw-
2	a-	b-	baa-	bab-
3	o-	gw-	gwa-	gugw-
4	e-	gy-	gya-	gigy-
5	e-	ly-	lya-	lily-
6	a-	g-	gaa-	gag-
7	e-	ky-	kya-	kiky-
8	e-	by-	bya-	biby-
9	e-	y-	yaa-	yiy-
10	e-	z-	zaa-	ziz-
11	o-	lw-	lwa-	lulw-
12	a-	k-	kaa-	kak-
13	o-	tw-	twa-	tutw-
14	o-	bw-	bwa-	bubw-
15	o-	kw-	kwa-	kukw-
16	a-	w-	waa-	waw-
17	o-	kw-	kwa-	kukw-
18	o-	mw-	mwa-	mumw-
20	o-	gw-	gwa-	gugw-
22	a-	g-	gaa-	gag-

Notes:

(*a*) The IV is the secondary vowel /**e, a, o**/ corresponding to that in the basic noun prefix, and is phonemically a double vowel, though represented orthographically by a single vowel symbol.

(*b*) Set (1) occurs with nouns and independent adjectives with an IV, with the noun /**ãní?**/ (who? whom?), and with the pronominal possessive stems /**-o**/, 2nd p. sg., and /**-e**/, Cl. 1 sg. In summary, Set (1) occurs before vowels.

(*c*) Set (2) occurs with nouns and independent adjectives without IV, and with all pronominal possessive stems other than /**-o**/ and /**-e**/. In summary, Set (2) occurs before consonants. Set (2) is composite, consisting of two substrate morphemes, the first C, Cw or Cy being identical with that in Set (1), the second being a possessive particle /**-aa- ~ -a-**/, of which /**-a-**/ occurs only before CC.

(*d*) Set (3) occurs only with the pronominal possessive stems /**-o**/ and /**-e**/ in independent constructions. Set (3) also is composite, consisting of two substrate morphemes, a concordial CV, plus a concordial C, Cw or Cy identical with that in Set (1).

(*e*) The possessive prefixes for Cl. 23 are not represented in our data.

5.5.3. Possessives based on Nouns and Independent Adjectives.

(*a*) Bases with IV, using Set (1) of Possessive Prefixes.

ŏmwãná wóómúyîzzí[2]	(the child of the hunter)
ăbãntú béékyàló[2]	(the people of the village)
ŏmùtwé gwẽnkókò	(the head of the chicken)
ẽmĩggó gyãbàlẽnzí	(the sticks of the boys)
ẽffúmú lyŏmwãmì	(the spear of the chief)
àmágúlú gêndígá	(the legs of the sheep)
àmàgí gẽnkókò	(the eggs of the chicken)
ẽkyãló kyŏmúsáwò	(the village of the doctor)
ẽbítábó byãbàntú	(the books of the people)
ẽnnyámá yẽmbógô	(the meat of the buffalo)
ẽnjálá zêffűmbé	(the claws of the civet)
ŏlúgáló lwŏmwâná	(the finger of the child)
ăkãmbé kóómûbbí[2]	(the knife of the thief)
ŏbwŏgí bwẽlĩggwâ	(the sharpness of the thorn)
ŏkùfá kwŏmúsâjjá	(the death of the man)

(*b*) Bases without IV, using Set (2) of Possessive Prefixes.

ŏműnnyó gwãMùkásá	(the salt of Mukasa)
bàntú báákyãló[2]	((They are) the people of the village)
màgí gãnkókò	((They are) the eggs of a chicken)
kyàló kyãmúsáwò	((It is) the village of the doctor)
'ffúmú lyãmwãmì	((It is) the spear of the chief)

5.5.4. Possessive Pseudoverbs based on Nouns and Independent Adjectives, using Set (2) of possessive prefixes. The tones on the possessive prefixes are low.

ẽffúmù lyàmwãmì[3]	(The spear is the chief's, The spear belongs to the chief)
ẽmbwâ yààmùyîzzí[3]	(The dog is the hunter's)

[2] Orthographically //**w'omuyizzi, b'ekyalo, k'omubbi, ba kyalo**//, etc.
[3] Orthographically //**lya mwami, ya muyizzi**//.

ăkămbè kààmûbbí[4]	(The knife is the thief's)
ẽbìtàbò byămùlẽnzí	(The books are the boy's)
ŏmûnnyò gwăMukásá	(The salt is Mukasa's)

5.5.5. Independent Possessives based on Nouns and Independent Adjectives.

(*a*) With IV:

ŏwóómúyîzzí[5]	(the hunter's one — **ŏmwâná**, child)
ẽlyőmwămì	(the chief's one — **ẽffúmù**, spear)
ăkóómûbbí[5]	(the thief's one — **ăkămbé**, knife)
ŏlwőmwâná	(the child's one — **ŏlwẽyó**, broom)
ẽzéékyàló[5]	(the ones of the village — **ẽmbwâ**, dogs)
ăgẽnkókò	(the chicken's ones — **ămàgî**, eggs)
ẽlyőmwămì lĭggyâ	(The chief's one is new)
ˈnjágálá ẽzéékyàló	(I like the ones of the village)
ˈndábà ăkóómûbbí	(I see the thief's one)

(*b*) Without IV:

wààmùyîzzí[5]	(the hunter's one)
lyămwămì[5]	(the chief's one)
gănkókò	(the chicken's ones)
sílàbà lyămwămì	(I do not see the chief's one)

5.5.6. Possessives based on Pronominal Possessive Stems. These are conveniently divided into three groups:

(1) Personal possessive stems /**-ngé**, **-ffé**, **-mmwé**, **-bwé**/;
(2) Personal possessive stems /**-o**, **-e**/;
(3) Impersonal possessive stems (Cl. 3–23).

As noted in Chapter 3, distinctive tonomorphological features occur in antecedents to possessives based on the personal possessive stems of 1st and 2nd p., sg. and pl., and Cl. 1 and 2.

The pronominal possessive stems are listed in 4.2.3, Set (3), but for easy reference the table is repeated here:

1st p. sg.	**-ngé**	pl.	**-ffé**	Personal
2nd p. sg.	**-o**	pl.	**-mmwé**	
Cl. 1	**-e**	2	**-bwé**	
3	**-gwô**	4	**-gyô**	Impersonal
5	**-lyô**	6	**-gô**	
7	**-kyô**	8	**-byô**	
9	**-yô**	10	**-zô**	
11	**-lwô**			
12	**-kô**	14	**-bwô**	
13	**-twô**			
15	**-kwô**			
16	**-wô**			
17	**-kwô**			
18	**-mwô**			
20	**-gwô**	22	**-gô**	
23	**-yô**			

[4] Orthographically //**ka mubbi**//, etc.
[5] Orthographically //**ow'omuyizzi**, **ak'omubbi**, **ez'ekyalo**, **wa muyizzi**, **lya mwami**//, etc.

(1) Personal possessives based on the stems /**-ngé, -ffé, -mmwé, -bwé**/, using Set (2) of possessive prefixes: The tones on the possessive prefixes are low, the tonal sequence on these disyllabic possessives therefore being L̲H.

ə̃mbwā̃ yāngé	(the dog of me, my dog)
ə̃ntɛ̃̄ zāffé	(our cattle)
ə̃bitábò byāmmwé	(your pl. books)
ə̃ndìgá zààbwé	(their sheep)
ə̃lwɛ̃̄yò lwāngé	(my broom)
ə̃njèyó zāffé	(our brooms)
ā̃màfúmù gāmmwé	(your pl. spears)
ā̃báámì bààbwé	(their chiefs)

(2) Personal possessives based on the stems /**-o, -e**/, using Set (1) of possessive prefixes: The tones on these monosyllabic possessives may be H, L or F. The distribution of these three tonal forms is not clear from our data. It appears that (*a*) H occurs after -L, (*b*) L occurs after -H̲, -LH, and some forms ending in -H̲H (*Note* 1), and (*c*) F occurs after -HH and some forms ending in -H̲H (*Note* 2). Examples:

(*a*)	**ɛ̃kyālò kyó**	(your sg. village)
	ə̃mwɛ̃̄ngè gwé	(his beer)
	ə̃mùkéékà gwó	(your sg. mat)
	ɛ̃kìsɛ̃̄ngè kyé	(his room)
	ɛ̃bìjānjààlò byó	(your sg. beans)
	ə̃lùbíliìzì lwé	(his rib)
(*b*)	**ɛ̃mbwā̃ yò**	(your sg. dog)
	ɛ̃ntɛ̃̄ zè	(his cattle)
	ɛ̃ntàmū́ yò	(your sg. cooking pot)
	ə̃mùgóbā̃ wè	(his driver or navigator)
	ə̃mùcū́ngwā̃ gwò	(your sg. orange)
	ə̃lùkómélā̃ lwè	(his fence)
	ɛ̃ndìgá zò	(your sg. sheep)
	ɛ̃nnyàmá yè	(his meat)
	ɛ̃ggìgí lyò	(your sg. curtain)
	ɛ̃ngàló zè	(his fingers)
	ə̃mùsólɔ́ózá wò	(your sg. tax collector) (*Note* 3)
	ə̃mùtégéévú wè	(his intelligent one) (*Note* 4)
(*c*)	**ə̃mùsáwó wô**	(your sg. doctor)
	ɛ̃mbúzí zê	(his goats)
	ə̃mùkónó gwô	(your sg. arm)
	ɛ̃kìgélé kyê	(his foot)
	ə̃mwā̃ná wô	(your sg. child) (*Note* 5)
	ā̃bāāná bê	(his children) (*Note* 5)
	ɛ̃bìkɛ̃̄mpé byê	(his cups) (*Note* 5)
	ə̃bùgāggá bwê	(his wealth) (*Note* 5)
	ā̃màpéésá gô	(your sg. buttons) (*Note* 5)
	ā̃kàtīmbá kô	(your sg. net) (*Note* 5)

Notes: 1. Notably those in which the tonal base has terminal sequence L̲H.
2. Notably those in which the tonal base has terminal sequence F̲H or H̲L.
3. Cf. /**ə̃mùsólòòzá**/ and /**mùsòlóòzá**/.
4. Cf. /**ə̃mùtégèèvú**/ and /**mùtégèèvú**/.
5. Cf. /**ə̃mwânā́, ā̃bāānā́, ɛ̃bìkômpé, ə̃bùgâggá, ā̃màpéésà, ā̃kàtīmbà**/.

(3) Impersonal possessives based on the stems for Cl. 3–23, using Set (2) of possessive prefixes: The tones on the possessive prefixes are high, the tonal sequence on these disyllabic possessives therefore being H̲F.

ẽmbwá záákyô	(the dogs of it — **ẽkyãló**, village)
ẽggí lyãyô	(its eggs — **ẽnkókò**, chicken)
ãmàgí gáályô	(its eggs — **ẽjjùbâ**, dove)
õmwãná gwãyô	(its young — **ẽmpólógómá**, lion) (*Note* 1)
ãbáána báázô	(their young)
õmùtwé gwãgwô	(its head — **õmùsótà**, snake)
ẽbyõyá byãkyô	(its feathers — **ẽkìwúúgúlû**, owl)

Note: 1. The Cl. 3 possessive prefix is used with /**õmwâná**/ when referring to animals and expressing "young, cub", etc. rather than "child". With the plural /**ãbáàná**/, however, no such distinction is made.

5.5.7. Possessive Pseudoverbs based on Pronominal Possessive Stems: Here again a division into three groups is necessary.

(1) Possessive Pseudoverbs based on the stems /**-ngé, -ffé, -mmwé, -bwé**/, using set (2) of possessive prefixes: The tones on these pseudoverbs are F̲H.

ẽmbwâ yângé	(The dog is mine)
ẽntè zâffé	(The cattle are ours)
ẽbìtàbò byâmmwé	(The books are yours, pl.)
ẽndìgà záàbwé	(The sheep are theirs)
õlwẽyò lwângé	(The broom is mine)
ẽnjèyò zâffé	(The brooms are ours)
ãmàfúmù gâmmwé	(The spears are yours, pl.)
ãkàtîmbà káàbwé	(The net is theirs)

(2) Possessive Pseudoverbs based on the stems /**-o, -e**/, using Set (3) of possessive prefixes: The tones on these pseudoverbs are LF.

ẽmbwâ yìyô	(The dog is yours, sg.)
ẽntè zìzê	(The cattle are his)
ẽbìtàbò bìbyô	(The books are yours, sg.)
õlwẽyò lùlwê	(The broom is his)
ẽffúmù lìlyô	(The spear is yours, sg.)
ãkàtîmbà kàkê	(The net is his)

(3) Possessive Pseudoverbs based on the stems for Cl. 3–23, using Set (2) of possessive prefixes: The tones on these pseudoverbs are H̲F.

ẽmbwâ záákyô	(The dogs belong to it — **ẽkyãló**, village)
ãmàgî gáályô	(The eggs belong to it — **ẽjjùbâ**, dove)
ẽbyõyà byãkyô	(The feathers belong to it — **ẽkìwúúgúlû**, owl)

5.5.8. Independent Possessives based on Pronominal Possessive Stems: For the tonal forms, see the corresponding Possessive Pseudoverbs (5.5.7). In group (*b*), the tonal form with IV is L̲HF

(*a*)	**ẽyângé, yângé**	(mine — **ẽmbwâ**, dog)
	ẽzâffé, zâffé	(ours — **ẽnté**, cattle)
	ãgâmmwé, gâmmwé	(yours, pl. — **ãmàfúmù**, spears)
	õwáàbwé, wáàbwé	(theirs — **õmwâná**, child)
	ˈndábà ẽyângé	(I see mine)

	sílàbà zâmmwé	(I do not see yours, pl.)
	ãgâffè màwãnvù	(Ours are long)
	ãgáàbwè mãmpì	(Theirs are short)
	ˈnjágálá ŏwáàbwé	(I like theirs)
(*b*)	**ẽyíyô, yìyô**	(yours, sg. — **ẽmbwâ**, dog)
	ẽlílyê, lìlyê	(his — **ẽffúmù**, spear)
	õlúlwô, lùlwô	(yours, sg. — **õlwẽyó**, broom)
	ãbábê, bàbê	(his — **ãbáànâ**, children)
	ẽlílyê lĩggyâ	(His is new)
	ˈnjágálá ẽyíyô	(I like yours, sg.)
	sílàbà lùlwô	(I do not see yours, sg.)
(*c*)	**ẽbyãkyô, byãkyô**	(its ones — **ẽbyõyá byẽkíwúúgúlû**, the feathers of the owl)
	õgwãgwô, gwãgwô	(its one — **õmùtwé gwõmúsótâ**, the head of the snake)
	ãgááyô, gááyô	(its ones — **ãmàgí gẽnkóˈkò**, the eggs of the chicken)
	ˈnjágálá ẽbyãkyô	(I like its (feathers))
	ãgááyô méèlú	(Its (eggs) are white)

Chapter 6

THE VERB: RADICALS AND AFFIXES

6.1.0. INTRODUCTION.

6.1.1. Ganda verbal structures are conveniently described under two headings, "Radicals and Affixes", and "Conjugation", of which the latter is presented in Chapter 7. This Chapter, dealing with Radicals and Affixes, is divided into four sections, as follows:

6.2.0. Verbal Radicals
6.3.0. Verbal Prefixes
6.4.0. Verbal Suffixes
6.5.0. The Perfect Stem

6.2.0. VERBAL RADICALS.

6.2.1. The bases remaining when finite and non-finite verbal forms are stripped of all concordial and conjugational affixes, whether prefixal, suffixal or suprafixal, are termed Verbal Radicals. Thus, in the following examples, the verbal radical is /**-gul-**/, the substrate affixes being demarcated by hyphens:

kù-gúl-á	(to buy)
gùl-á	(buy!)
tú-gùl-á	(we buy)
tè-tú-gúl-â	(we do not buy)
tù-gùl-ê	(we should buy)
tè-tù-gùl-â	(we should not buy)
tè-tú-ú-gúl-ê	(we shall not buy — soon)

Note, however, that verbal forms often incorporate one or more derivational suffixes, termed Extensions, and these are conveniently treated as part of the radical, which is then designated an Extended Radical. In the following examples the extensions are demarcated by /.**/**:

kù-gúl-á	(to buy)
kù-gúl.íl-á	(to buy for, at, etc.)
kù-gúl.ík-á	(to be purchaseable)
kù-gúl.íbw-á	(to be bought (by . . .))
kù-kól-à	(to do or work)
kù-kól.èl-á	(to do for, at, etc.)
kù-kól.èk-á	(to be doable)
kù-kól.èbw-á	(to be done (by . . .))

The extensions here are /**-il-** ~ **-el-**/, /**-ik-** ~ **-ek-**/ and /**-ibw-** ~ **-ebw-**/.

6.2.2. In terms of substrate structure therefore, two major categories of verbal radicals may be recognized, (*a*) Simplex (or Unextended) Radicals, and (*b*) Extended Radicals. A third category includes Reduplicative Radicals, e.g.

kùbúúkábúúká	(to hop about, flutter)
cf. **kùbúúká**	(to fly, jump)

Our data on the derivation of verbal radicals, including extended and reduplicative radicals, is fragmentary. We therefore concern ourselves here mainly with simplex radicals, of which there are three main substrate types:

(*a*) C-commencing radicals, with initial single consonant;
(*b*) CC-commencing radicals, with initial double consonant;
(*c*) V-commencing radicals, with initial vowel.

6.2.3. Tonologically there are two major series or classes of verbal forms, designated A and B. All the substrate types are represented in both the A and the B tonal series, so there is no correlation between substrate type and superstrate series. However, within the A and B tonal series the tonomorphology is correlated with the syllabic structure, as shown by the following examples:

A Series		*B Series*	
kùsá	(to grind)	**kùfâ**	(to die)
kùgúlá	(to buy)	**kùlábà**	(to see)
kùlíímá	(to spy)	**kùléètá**	(to bring)
kùsásúlá	(to pay)	**kùwúlìlá**	(to hear)

Tonomorphemes: A: LH, LHH, L̰HH, LHHH
B: LF, LHL, L̰FH, LHLH

The superstrate or tonal morphemes are semantically and grammatically significant, distinguishing verbal forms which are otherwise identical in structure, e.g.

kùwólá	(to lend money)
kùwólà	(to become cool)
kùzîmbá	(to build)
kùzîmbá	(to swell up)
kûggyá	(to take away, remove, uproot)
kûggyá	(to burn, int.)
kwêlá	(to sweep)
kwêlá	(to be plentiful, bear fruit well)
tèmúgúlâ	(you pl. are not buying)
tèmùgùlâ	(you pl. should not buy)

The basic tonal form of a verbal paradigm occurs in the infinitive. The radical, being an abstraction without affixes, does not have a tonal form. At best one might list radicals with one or more tone-marks as an indication of the tonal series to which they belong, e.g. /**-gúl-** ′/ (buy), /**-láb-** ‵/ (see). We prefer generally to cite infinitive forms in our examples, the radicals being demarcated by hyphens.

6.2.4. *C-commencing Radicals:* The following sub-types occur, according to phonological form: C; CVC, CVVC, CVNC, CVCC; CVC+, CVVC+, CVNC+, CVCC+. The /+/ indicates longer radicals than CVC, CVVC, CVNC, CVCC, respectively.

(1) C Radicals: Like all other Bantu languages, Ganda has but a limited number of these, probably less than twenty altogether. In Ganda, all C radicals have CV allomorphs which occur in the Perfect Stem (see 6.5.0).[1] Examples:

A:	**kù-gw-á**	(∼ **-gu-**)	(to fall)
	kù-gy-á	(∼ **-gi-**)	(to fit in)
	kù-lw-á	(∼ **-lu-**)	(to delay, be late)
	kù-mw-á	(∼ **-mwe-**)	(to shave)
	kù-s-á	(∼ **-se-**)	(to grind)
	kù-v-á	(∼ **-vu-**)	(to come from)

[1] In several cases the same CV allomorphs occur in extended forms incorporating the extensions /**-il-** ∼ **-el-**/ (Applicative), /**-is-** ∼ **-es-**/ (Causative), /**-ibw-** ∼ **-ebw-**/ (Passive), /**-ik-** ∼ **-ek-**/ (Neuter), etc.

B:	**kù-b-â**	(~ **-ba-**)	(to be)
	kù-cw-â	(~ **-cwe-**)	(to sneak off, abscond)
	kù-f-â	(~ **-fu-**)	(to die)
	kù-ky-â	(~ **-ke-**)	(to clear up, to dawn)
	kù-ly-â	(~ **-li-**)	(to eat)
	kù-nyw-â	(~ **-nywe-**)	(to drink)
	kù-t-â	(~ **-ta-**)	(to release, let go)
	kù-ty-â	(~ **-ti-**)	(to fear)
	kù-w-â	(~ **-wa-**)	(to give)

(2) CVC, CVVC, CVNC, CVCC Radicals: These include the vast majority of simplex radicals in Ganda, the CVCC type being least common. Examples:[2]

A:	**kù-gúl-á**	(to buy) (CVC)
	kù-bál-á	(to count)
	kù-sóm-á	(to read)
	kù-líím-á	(to spy) (CVVC)
	kù-bwãm-á	(to crouch)
	kù-kyãw-á	(to hate)
	kù-fűmb-á	(to cook) (CVNC)
	kù-gẽnd-á	(to go)
	kù-lẽng-á	(to measure)
	kù-bĩkk-á	(to cover) (CVCC)
	kù-bãjj-á	(to work in wood)
	kù-zãnny-á	(to play)
B:	**kù-kúb-à**	(to hit, strike) (CVC)
	kù-láb-à	(to see, look at)
	kù-tém-à	(to chop)
	kù-léèt-á	(to bring) (CVVC)
	kù-kwât-á	(to seize, catch)
	kù-kyâl-á	(to visit)
	kù-bûmb-á	(to mould) (CVNC)
	kù-lônd-á	(to choose, elect)
	kù-tûng-á	(to sew)
	kù-côcc-á	(to taunt, tease) (CVCC)
	kù-fĩkk-á	(to be left over or surplus)
	kù-tônny-á	(to rain)

(3) CVC+, CVVC+, CVNC+, CVCC+ Radicals: While some of these may be simplex, the vast majority are derivative or extended. Examples:

A:	**kù-sásúl-á**	(to pay) (CVCVC)
	kù-támííl-á	(to become drunk) (CVCVVC)
	kù-sísĩnkán-á	(to meet, come upon) (CVCVNCVC)

[2] Further research may reveal that some of these are extended radicals.

	kù-gálámíl-á	(to lie down) (CVCVCVC)
	kù-súúbíl-á	(to hope) (CVVCVC)
	kù-tyɛ̃múk-á	(to split, int.) (CVVCVC)
	kù-tyőbóól-á	(to swear) (CVVCVVC)
	kù-sőngól-á	(to sharpen) (CVNCVC)
	kù-wãndíík-á	(to write) (CVNCVVC)
	kù-sőggól-á	(to dig up) (CVCCVC)
B:	**kù-wúlìl-á**	(to hear, feel) (CVCVC)
	kù-tégèèl-á	(to understand) (CVCVVC)
	kù-sélɛ̃ngét-á	(to descend) (CVCVNCVC)
	kù-búùlíl-á	(to tell) (CVVCVC)
	kù-bwâtúl-á	(to break forcibly) (CVVCVC)
	kù-yáàyáàníl-á	(to long for) (CVVCVVCVC)
	kù-tâmbúl-á	(to walk) (CVNCVC)
	kù-yîmpáwál-á	(to become short) (CVNCVCVC)
	kù-wûmmúl-á	(to rest, retire) (CVCCVC)
	kù-gâggáwál-á	(to become rich) (CVCCVCVC)

6.2.5. *CC-commencing Radicals:* These are relatively uncommon, including those consisting of CC only, and CC+ radicals. Some of the latter may be simplex, but most are likely to be derivative or extended. An important feature to be observed about C-commencing radicals is that they all have allomorphs commencing in CiC, the latter occurring with the prefix /**N-**/ (see 1.5.1). Two CC radicals also have CV allomorphs which occur in the Perfect Stem (see 6.5.0). Two groups of CC-commencing radicals must be distinguished, as follows:

(1) CC-commencing radicals with nasal geminite cluster initially. These have allomorphs commencing in /**yiN-**/. Examples:

A:	**kù-mmúk-á**	(∼ **-yimuk-**)	(to be lively or animated; to flow freely, of juice)
	kù-nnyúk-á	(∼ **-yinyuk-**)	(to rest for a while from work)
B:	**kû-mm-á**	(∼ **-yim-**)	(to begrudge, be mean or stingy)
	kű-nnyìk-á	(∼ **-yinyik-**)	(to immerse, submerge, dip in)
	kű-nnyönnyól-á	(∼ **-yinyonnyol-**)	(to explain)

Examples illustrating the /**yiN**/ allomorphs:

ˈnnyímúká	(I am animated)
ˈnnyínyúká	(I knock off from work)
ˈnnyímà	(I refuse to give)
ˈnnyínyìká	(I immerse)
ˈnnyínyönnyólá	(I explain)

(2) CC-commencing radicals with non-nasal geminate cluster initially. These have allomorphs commencing in /**ziC**/. Examples:

A:	**kù-ggy-á**	(∼ **-zigy-**)	(to take away, remove, uproot)
	kù-jj-á	(∼ **-zij-**)	(to come)
	kù-kk-á	(∼ **-zik-**)	(to descend)
	kù-ggál-á	(∼ **-zigal-**)	(to shut, close)
	kù-ggúl-á	(∼ **-zigul-**)	(to open)
	kù-jjúl-á	(∼ **-zijul-**)	(to dish up food)
	kù-kkílíz-á	(∼ **-zikiliz-**)	(to believe, agree)
	kù-jjúkíl-á	(∼ **-zijukil-**)	(to remember)

B:	**kû-bb-á**	(~ **-zib-**)	(to steal)
	kû-dd-á	(~ **-zil-**)	(to return, go back)
	kû-tt-á	(~ **-zit-**)	(to kill, murder)
	kű-ddùk-á	(~ **-ziluk-**)	(to run)
	kű-kkùt-á	(~ **-zikut-**)	(to become sated with food)
	kű-ttùl-á	(~ **-zitul-**)	(to beat a pattern into bark-cloth)
	kű-jjänjáb-á	(~ **-zijanjab-**)	(to nurse a patient)
	kű-vvùùnúl-á	(~ **-zivuunul-**)	(to translate)

Examples illustrating the /**ziC**/ allomorphs:

'nzíjá	(I am coming)
'nzígálá	(I close)
'nzíkílízá	(I believe, I agree)
'nzíbà	(I steal)
'nzílùká	(I run)
'nzívùùnúlá	(I translate)
'nzítùzó	(bark-cloth mallet), noun, Cl. 9

6.2.6. *V-commencing Radicals:* All vowel commencing radicals in Ganda have double vowels initially (cf. 1.1.8), and all have allomorphs commencing in /**yV**/. The distribution of the /**VV ~ yV**/ allomorphs is described in 6.2.7 below. V-commencing radicals are relatively uncommon, including those consisting of VVC or VVNC only, and VVC+ and VVNC+ radicals. Some of the latter may be simplex, but most are likely to be derivative or extended. There do not appear to be any radicals consisting of or commencing in VCC. It is noteworthy that only the secondary vowels /**e, a, o**/ occur initially in V-commencing radicals, not /**i, u**/ (cf. 1.1.8). Examples:

A:	**kw-ä̀l-á**		(to make a bed)
	R: **-aal-**	~ **-yal-**	
	kw-ë̀l-á		(to sweep)
	R: **-eel-**	~ **-yel-**	
	kw-ö̀ky-á		(to roast, incinerate)
	R: **-ooky-**	~ **-yoky-**	
	kw-ä̀gál-á		(to love, like, want)
	R: **-aagal-**	~ **-yagal-**	
	kw-ë̀sél-á		(to water cattle)
	R: **-eesel-**	~ **-yesel-**	
	kw-ö̀gél-á		(to speak, talk)
	R: **-oogel-**	~ **-yogel-**	
	kw-ä̀mbál-á		(to dress, put on clothes)
	R: **-aambal-**	~ **-yambal-**	
	kw-ë̀njéél-á		(to stagger)
	R: **-eenjeel-**	~ **-yenjeel-**	
	kw-ö̀ngél-á		(to increase, add to)
	R: **-oongel-**	~ **-yongel-**	
B:	**kw-ầl-á**		(to increase, become plentiful)
	R: **-aal-**	~ **-yal-**	
	kw-ềl-á		(to be plentiful, bear fruit well)
	R: **-eel-**	~ **-yel-**	
	kw-ồt-á		(to bask, warm oneself)
	R: **-oot-**	~ **-yot-**	

kw-ãwùl-á (to separate)
R: **-aawul-** ~ **-yawul-**
kw-ãnìk-á (to put out to dry)
R: **-aanik-** ~ **-yanik-**
kw-ãtìk-á (to crack, become cracked)
R: **-aatik-** ~ **-yatik-**
kw-ẽgèk-á (to prop up, lean, support)
R: **-eegek-** ~ **-yegek-**
kw-ẽngèl-á (to ripen, become ripe)
R: **-eengel-** ~ **-yengel-**
kw-õnòòn-á (to damage, spoil, sin)
R: **-oonoon-** ~ **-yonoon-**

Additional examples illustrating the VV allomorphs:

twêlá	(we sweep)
béèlá	(they sweep)
séélâ	(I do not sweep)
túlyŏgélá	(we shall speak—far future)

Examples illustrating the yV allomorphs:

yèlá!	(sweep!)
ˈnjélá	(I sweep) < ***N-yélá** (*Note* 1)
ŏyélá	(you sg. sweep)
twãyèlá	(we swept)
tètwãyèlá	(we did not sweep)
túnààyélá	(we shall sweep)
tètúúyélê	(we shall not sweep)
yãmbàlá!	(dress!)
ˈnnyãmbálá	(I dress) < ***N-yãmbálá** (*Note* 1)
yànìkà!	(put out to dry!)
ˈnnyánìká	(I put out to dry)
ˈnjátíkâ	(cracks, crevices), noun, Cl. 10
ˈnjáwùló	(difference, separation), noun, Cl. 9
ˈnjógélá	(speech, way of speaking), noun, Cl. 9

Note: 1. For the morphophonemics of /**N-** + **y** > **nj**/ and /**N-** + **y** > **nny**/ see 1.5.1.

6.2.7. Distribution of VV and yV allomorphs.

(1) The VV allomorphs occur after:
(*a*) Subject Prefixes consisting of C (other than /**N-**/), Cw and Cy, i.e. the SPs listed in 6.3.2, Series SP2;
(*b*) Object Prefixes consisting of C (other than /**N-**/), Cw and Cy, i.e. the OPs listed in 6.3.3, Series OP2;
(*c*) Tense Prefix /**-ly-**/, allomorph of /**-li-**/, Far Future Tense, positive and negative (see 6.3.5 (5)).
In summary, the VV allomorphs occur after prefixes whose canonical form is CV.

(2) The yV allomorphs occur after:
(*a*) Subject Prefixes /**N-**/, 1st person singular; /**o-**/, 2nd person singular; /**a-**/, Cl. 1; /**e-**/, Cl. 9 and 23; i.e. the SPs consisting of /**N-**/ or V in 6.3.2, Series SP1;

(*b*) Object Prefix /**N-**/, 1st person singular, in 6.3.3, Series OP1;
(*c*) Reflexive Prefix /**-ee-** ~ **-e-** ~ **-nee-** ~ **-ne-**/, in 6.3.4;
(*d*) Nominal and Adjectival Prefix /**N-**/, Cl. 9 and 10, with stems derived from V-commencing verbal radicals;
(*e*) Tense Prefixes /**-aa-** ~ **-a-**/, Near and Far Past Tenses, positive and negative (see 6.3.5 (2)); /**-naa-** ~ **-noo-**/, Near Future Tense, positive (see 6.3.5 (3)); /**-V-**/, Near Future Tense, negative (see 6.3.5 (4));
(*f*) No Prefix, in the Imperative without OP (see 7.3.2).

In summary, the yV allomorphs occur when there is no prefix, and after all prefixes other than those whose canonical form is CV, i.e. those consisting of N, V, VV, CVV.[3]

6.2.8. It is important to distinguish between V-commencing radicals with allomorphs commencing in yV, and C-commencing radicals with initial consonant /**y**/. Some examples of the latter are:

kù-yíg-à	(to learn)
kù-yít-à	(to call; to pass)
kù-yúz-á	(to tear, rend)
kù-yímùk-á	(to rise, get up, stand)
kù-yíis-á	(to cook sufficiently)
kù-yáàyááníl-á	(to long for)
kù-yãmb-á	(to help, assist)
kù-yîmb-á	(to sing)
kù-yîmpáwál-á	(to become short)
kù-yîngíl-á	(to enter, go in, come in)
kù-yînz-á	(to be able or capable)
kù-yõmb-á	(to be angry, to grumble)
kù-yîgg-á	(to hunt)

Dialectally, it seems, some of these may occur as V-commencing radicals, with /**VV ~ yV**/ allomorphs, e.g.

kù-yãmb-á ≃ **kw-ãmb-á** (to help)

Contrarily, some of the V-commencing radicals exemplified in 6.2.6 may occur dialectally as C-commencing radicals, e.g.

kw-ãgál-á ≃ **kù-yágál-á** (to love)

Generally, however, the two groups are distinct in conjugation. C-commencing radicals with initial /**y**/ retain the /**y**/ throughout, whereas V-commencing radicals have allomorphs with initial /**y**/ only in certain environments as described in 6.2.7.

6.2.9. V-commencing radicals must also be distinguished from those with reflective prefix /**-ee-**/. The latter do not have yV allomorphs, and require distinctive forms of Subject Prefixes, Tense Prefixes, etc., in certain cases (see 6.3.4).

6.3.0. VERBAL PREFIXES.

6.3.1. Four groups of verbal prefixes are described here:

(*a*) Subject Prefixes,
(*b*) Object Prefixes,
(*c*) Reflective Prefix,
(*d*) Tense Prefixes.

[3] We have not yet studied the distribution of VV and yV allomorphs of V-commencing radicals when preceded by the tense prefixes /**-aaka-**/, /**-kya-**/, /**-ndi-**/, /**-nna-**/. See 6.3.5.

Our data on some of these groups is incomplete, while that on Relative Prefixes, occurring in relative clause construction, is quite fragmentary, and we accordingly do not list these at all.

6.3.2. *Subject Prefixes.* Ganda has three allomorphic series of Subject Prefixes (SP), as tabulated below. All finite verb tenses incorporate a SP in concordial agreement with the subject of the verb, expressed or implied. Verbal infinitives and imperatives, being non-finite, do not incorporate a SP.

Table of Subject Prefixes:

	SP1	SP2	SP3	
1st p. sg.	**N-**	—	**n-**	(Positive Tenses)
	si-	**s-**		(Negative Tenses)
pl.	**tu-**	**tw-**		
2nd p. sg.	**o-**	—	**w-**	
pl.	**mu-**	**mw-**		
Cl. 1	**a-**	—	**y-**	
2	**ba-**	**b-**		
3	**gu-**	**gw-**		
4	**gi-**	**gy-**		
5	**li-**	**ly-**		
6	**ga-**	**g-**		
7	**ki-**	**ky-**		
8	**bi-**	**by-**		
9	**e-**	—	**y-**	
10	**zi-**	**z-**		
11	**lu-**	**lw-**		
12	**kə-**	**k-**		
13	**tu-**	**tw-**		
14	**bu-**	**bw-**		
15	**ku-**	**kw-**		
16	**wa-**	**w-**		
17	**ku-**	**kw-**		
18	**mu-**	**mw-**		
20	**gu-**	**gw-**		
22	**ga-**	**g-**		
23	**e-**	—	**y-**	

Notes:

(*a*) Blank spaces under SP3 indicate that the prefix is identical with that under SP2.

(*b*) /**N-**/ represents a homorganic nasal consonant and its morphophonemic influence (see 1.5.1).

(*c*) The 1st p. sg. SP has two sets of allomorphs, /**N-** ~ **n-**/ occurring only in positive tenses, and /**si-** ~ **s-**/ only in negative tenses (see 6.3.5(1)(*a*)).

(*d*) SP1 occurs before radicals, object prefixes and tense prefixes consisting of or commencing in C or CC (including yV allomorphs of V-commencing radicals), and before the tense prefix /**-V-**/ of the Near Future Tense, negative (see 6.3.5(4)).

(*e*) SP2 occurs before V-commencing radicals (VV allomorphs only).

(*f*) SP3 occurs before the tense prefix /**-aa-** ~ **-a-**/ of the Near and Far Past Tenses, positive and negative (see 6.3.5(2)), and before the reflexive prefix /**-ee-** ~ **-e-**/ (see 6.3.4).

In summary, SP1 occurs before C, and before V when this is identical (geminate) with that in SP1; while SP2 and SP3 occur before other vowels, respectively radical and prefixal.

6.3.3. *Object Prefixes.* Ganda has Object Prefixes (OP) for all persons and classes except Cl. 16, 17, 18, 23, for which objectival representation in the verb is carried out by concordial Object Enclitics (OE). There are two allomorphic series of object prefixes, as tabulated below. All transitive verbal forms, including infinitives and imperatives, may incorporate object prefixes, in concordial agreement with the object of the verb, expressed or implied. Certain verbal forms, mainly extended, may incorporate two OPs, or an OP and the reflexive prefix. We have no tonological data on structures involving double OPs, and accordingly do not describe them.

Table of Object Prefixes and Enclitics.

	OP1	OP2	OE
1st p. sg.	**N-**	—	
pl.	**tu-**	**tw-**	
2nd p. sg.	**ku-**	**kw-**	
pl.	**ba-**	**b-**	
Cl. 1	**mu-**	**mw-**	
2	**ba-**	**b-**	
3	**gu-**	**gw-**	
4	**gi-**	**gy-**	
5	**li-**	**ly-**	
6	**ga-**	**g-**	
7	**ki-**	**ky-**	
8	**bi-**	**by-**	
9	**gi-**	**gy-**	
10	**zi-**	**z-**	
11	**lu-**	**lw-**	
12	**ka-**	**k-**	
13	**tu-**	**tw-**	
14	**bu-**	**bw-**	
15	**ku-**	**kw-**	
16	—	—	**-wô**
17	—	—	**-kô**
18	—	—	**-mû**
20	**gu-**	**gw-**	
22	**ga-**	**g-**	
23	—	—	**-yô**

Notes:

(*a*) /**N-**/ represents a homorganic nasal consonant and its morphophonemic influence (see 1.5.1).

(*b*) OP1 occurs before radicals commencing in C and CC (including yV allomorphs of V-commencing radicals) and, in the case of the 1st p. sg. OP /**N-**/, also before the reflexive prefix /**-nee- ~ -ne-**/ (see 6.3.4).

(*c*) OP2 occurs before V-commencing radicals (VV allomorphs only), and before the reflexive prefix /**-ee- ~ -e-**/ (see 6.3.4).

6.3.4. *The Reflexive Prefix* is a specialized form of object prefix, indicating that the action of the verb is reflected upon its subject, hence that the subject and object are identical. It is affixed immediately before the verbal radical, being preceded by any other prefix (subject prefix, tense prefix or object prefix) in the construction. The reflexive prefix has four allomorphs, /**-ee- ~ -e- ~ -nee- ~ -ne-**/, distributed as follows:

(*a*) /**-nee- ~ -ne-**/ occur only after the 1st p. sg. SP or OP /**n-**/.

(*b*) /**-ee-** ∼ **-e-**/ occur after all other SPs (series SP3), OPs (Series OP2), and tense prefixes.
(*c*) /**-e-** ∼ **-ne-**/ occur only before CC-commencing radicals.
(*d*) /**-ee-** ∼ **-nee-**/ occur before C-commencing radicals, including yV allomorphs of V-commencing radicals.

Examples:

kwɛ̃làbá	(to see oneself), /**-ee-**/
yéélàbá	(he sees himself), /**-ee-**/
ˈnnéélàbá	(I see myself), /**-nee-**/
kwêttá	(to kill oneself), /**-e-**/
yêttá	(he kills himself), /**-e-**/
ˈnnêttá	(I kill myself), /**-ne-**/

In most cases, as indicated above, the reflexive prefix expresses "... self" or "... selves".

kwɛ̃mwà	(to shave oneself)
cf. **kùmwá**	(to shave)
kwɛ̃làbá	(to see oneself)
cf. **kùlábà**	(to see)
kwɛ̃lùmá	(to bite oneself)
cf. **kùlúmà**	(to bite)
kwɛ̃bùùzá	(to ask oneself)
cf. **kùbúùzá**	(to ask)
kwêttá	(to kill oneself)
cf. **kûttá**	(to kill)
kwɛ̃kkùsá	(to sate oneself)
cf. **kűkkùsá**	(to sate)

Sometimes the purely reflexive significance is obscured, and verbs incorporating this prefix have idiomatic implications.

kwêbbá	(to sneak off, to steal away)
cf. **kûbbá**	(to steal)
kwɛ̃yɔ̀ngélá	(to continue in the same strain)
cf. **kwɔ̀ngélá**	(to increase, add to)
kwɛ̃wùlílá	(to be conceited)
cf. **kùwúlìlá**	(to hear, feel, sense, obey)

A number of verbal forms with reflexive prefix appear to have no corresponding "simplex" or non-reflexive forms. The reflexive significance is also lacking in these.

kwɛ̃bàká	(to sleep, lie down)
kwɛ̃sìgá	(to trust, rely on)
kwɛ̃tàágá	(to need, require)
kwɛ̃bàgálá	(to mount, ride, e.g. a horse)

Verbal radicals with reflexive prefix /**-ee-**/ must be distinguished from V-commencing radicals with initial /**-ee-**/. The latter have allomorphs with initial /**-ye-**/, the former do not. The distinction can be tested with the SPs /**N-**/, 1st p. sg.; /**o-** ∼ **w-**/, 2nd p. sg.; /**a-** ∼ **y-**/, Cl. 1; /**e-** ∼ **y-**/, Cl. 9; for example, with V-commencing radical /**-eegek-** ∼ **-yegek-**/, and reflexive prefix + radical /**-eesig-**/:

kwɛ̃gèká	(to prop up, support)
ˈnjégèká	(I prop up)
ɔ̃yégèká	(you sg. prop up)
ãyégèká	(he props up)

kwẽsìgá	(to trust, rely on)
ˈnnéésìgá	(I trust)
wéésìgá	(you sg. trust)
yéésìgá	(he trusts)

6.3.5. *Tense Prefixes:* Five of the Ganda tense prefixes are described here. There are, in addition, several others for which our data is inadequate. The latter include /**ne- ~ n-**/ (consecutive: "and then . . . "); /**-aaka-**/ ("so far", "up to now", "since"); /**-kya-**/ (progressive: "still" and "no longer"); /**-ndi-**/ (conditional); /**-nna-**/ (exclusive: "not yet").

(1) /**tè- ~ t- ∞ Ø- ∞ -ta-**/. This prefix occurs in all negative tenses, and generally precedes the SP. In negative infinitives, relative clause constructions, and "consecutive" tenses involving the prefix /**ne- ~ n-**/, it follows the noun prefix or SP. In these latter constructions there occur also additional allomorphs, e.g. /**-to-**/, whose distribution has not yet been investigated.

(*a*) /**-ta-**/ occurs before C-commencing radicals, in Negative Infinitives and also in relative clause constructions.

bùtályà	(not to eat)
bùtágẽndà	(not to go)

(*b*) /**Ø-**/ occurs only before the 1st p. sg. negative SP /**si- ~ s-**/ (*Note* 1), e.g.

sígúlâ	(I do not buy)
séélâ	(I do not sweep)

Note: 1. There are two apparently equally valid solutions for the morphological sequence Negative Prefix + 1st p. sg. SP, as in /**sígúlâ**/ (I do not buy), /**séélâ**/ (I do not sweep), etc., cf. /**tètúgúlâ**/ (we do not buy), /**tètwẽlâ**/ (we do not sweep). We prefer the descriptively simpler representation of Negative Prefix as /**te- ~ t- ∞ Ø-**/, and 1st p. sg. SP as /**N- ~ n- ∞ si- ~ s-**/. The alternative, Negative Prefix /**te- ~ t- ∞ si- ~ s-**/, and 1st p. sg. SP /**N- ~ n- ∞ -Ø-**/, is probably more correct historically.

(*c*) /**t-**/ occurs before SPs consisting of a vowel, i.e. 2nd p. sg. /**o-**/, Cl. 1 /**a-**/, Cl. 9, 23 /**e-**/, and before V-commencing radicals in negative infinitives, e.g.

tógúlâ	(you sg. do not buy)
tágúlâ	(he does not buy)
télùmá	(it (dog) does not bite)
bùtéélâ	(not to sweep), Infinitive, Cl. 14
bùtóógélà	(not to speak), Infinitive, Cl. 14

(*d*) /**tè-**/ occurs before SPs consisting of or commencing in a consonant, e.g.

tètúgúlâ	(we do not buy)
tèwè[illegible]úlà	(you sg. did not buy)
tèyàgúlà	(he did not buy)

(2) /**-aa- ~ -a- ~ -Ø-**/. This prefix occurs in the Near and Far Past Tenses, positive and negative (see 7.4.4 f). Examples are cited here from the Far Past Tense.

(*a*) /**-Ø-**/ occurs only before the reflexive prefix /**-ee- ~ -e-**/, e.g.

twẽsìgá	(we trusted), /**tw-Ø-ee-sig-a**/
bẽttà	(they killed themselves), /**b-Ø-e-tt-a**/

(*b*) /**-a-**/ occurs after SP3 (see 6.3.2), i.e. 1st p. sg. /**n-**/, 2nd p. sg. /**w-**/, Cl. 1, 9, 23 /**y-**/, and before CC-commencing radicals, e.g.

nàgúlà	(I bought)
wàgúlà	(you sg. bought)
yàgúlà	(he bought)
tèwàgúlà	(you sg. did not buy)
tèyàgúlà	(he did not buy)
twãddà	(we returned)
tètwãddà	(we did not return)

(*c*) /**-aa-**/ occurs after SP2, except when preceding CC-commencing radicals, e.g.

twãgùlá	(we bought)
báágùlá	(they bought)
tètwãgùlá	(we did not buy)
tɔ̀báágùlá	(they did not buy)

(3) /**-naa- ~ -na- ~ -noo- ~ -no- ~ -nee- ~ -ne- ~ -n-**/. This prefix occurs in the Near Future Tense, positive (see 7.4.6).

(*a*) /**-n-**/ occurs only before the reflexive prefix /**-ee- ~ -e-**/, e.g.

tuneebaka	(we shall sleep)
banetta	(they will kill themselves)

(*b*) /**-noo- ~ -no-**/ occur only after the 2nd p. sg. SP /**o-**/ and /**-nee- ~ -ne-**/ after the Cl. 9, 23 SP /**e-**/, /**-no- ~ -ne-**/ before CC-commencing radicals, /**-noo- ~ -nee-**/ before C-commencing radicals (including yV allomorphs of V-commencing radicals), e.g.

ɔ̃nɔ̃ddà	(you sg. will return)
ɛ̃nɛ̃ddà	(it — dog — will return)
ɔ̃nóògúlá	(you sg. will buy)
ɛ̃nɛ́ɛ́lúmà	(it — dog — will bite)
ɔ̃nóòyélá	(you sg. will sweep)

(*c*) /**-naa- ~ -na-**/ occur after all SPs other than 2nd p. sg. /**o-**/ and Cl. 9, 23 /**e-**/, /**-na-**/ before CC-commencing radicals, /**-naa-**/ before C-commencing radicals, e.g.

ˈnnãddà	(I shall return)
ãnãddà	(he will return)
túnãddà	(we shall return)
ˈnnáàgúlá	(I shall buy)
ãnáàgúlá	(he will buy)
túnààgúlá	(we shall buy)
túnààyélá	(we shall sweep)

(4) /**-V-**/. This prefix occurs in the Near Future Tense, negative, and has allomorphs /**-i- ~ -e- ~ -a- ~ -o- ~ -u- ~ -Ø-**/.

(*a*) The allomorph /**-Ø-**/ occurs before CC-commencing radicals and the reflexive prefix /**-ee- ~ -e-**/, e.g.

sĭddè	(we shall not return)
tŏddè	(you sg. will not return)
tãddè	(he will not return)
tɛ̃ddè	(it — dog — will not return)
tètŭddè	(we shall not return)

seebake	(I shall not sleep)
teweebake	(you sg. will not sleep)
teyeebake	(he will not sleep)
tetwebake	(we shall not sleep)

(*b*) /**-i-** ~ **-e-** ~ **-a-** ~ **-o-** ~ **-u-**/ occur before C-commencing radicals (including yV allomorphs of V-commencing radicals), the vowel always being identical with that of the preceding SP, e.g.

síígúlê	(we shall not buy)
téélúmè	(it — dog — will not bite)
tóógúlê	(you sg. will not buy)
táágúlê	(he will not buy)
tètúúgúlê	(we shall not buy)

(5) /**-li-** ~ **-ly-**/. This prefix occurs in the Far Future Tense, positive and negative (see 7.4.7).

(*a*) /**-ly-**/ occurs before V-commencing radicals and the reflexive prefix /**-ee-** ~ **-e-**/, e.g.

ˈndyêlá	(I shall sweep)
ðlyêlá	(you sg. will sweep)
túlyēlá	(we shall sweep)
tulyebaka	(we shall sleep)

(*b*) /**-li-**/ occurs before C-commencing and CC-commencing radicals, e.g.

ˈndígùlá	(I shall buy)
ðlígùlá	(you sg. will buy)
túlìgùlá	(we shall buy)
ˈndîddá	(I shall return)
ðlîddá	(you sg. will return)
túlîddá	(we shall return)

6.4.0. VERBAL SUFFIXES.

6.4.1. Only three primary tense suffixes, i.e. those affixed directly to the radical, are described here, /**-a**/, /**-e**/, and /**-YE**/. Besides these there are several secondary suffixes and enclitics, which are affixed after a primary suffix, e.g. /**-ŋga**/ (repetitive–habitual), the Object Enclitics /**-wô**, **-kô**, **-mû**, **-yô**/ (see 6.3.3), and /**-kí**/ (what?), /**-wá**/ (where?), on which our data is fragmentary and which we do not discuss further. Nor do we attempt to describe the derivational suffixes and extensions to which reference has been made in 6.2.1 f.

6.4.2. The suffix /**-a**/ may be termed the Basic Verbal Suffix, occurring in all verbal forms and tenses other than those requiring /**-e**/ or /**-YE**/. Only a few "defective" forms lack the basic suffix /**-a**/, e.g. /**-lí**/ (be), /**-ti**/ (do thus, like this), /**-tyo**/ (do like that), cf. also /**-tya**/ (do how, like what?). The basic suffix /**-a**/ occurs in the Infinitive, positive and negative; Imperative; Imperative with 1st p. sg. OP /**N-**/; Present Indicative, positive and negative; Far Past Indicative, positive and negative; Near Future Indicative, positive; Far Future Indicative, positive and negative; Present Subjunctive, negative. Examples:

kùkúbà	(to hit, strike, beat)
bùtákùbá	(not to hit)
kùbá!	(hit!)
ˈnkùbâ!	(hit me!)
túkùbá	(we hit — Present)
tètúkùbá	(we do not hit)
twãkùbá	(we hit — Far Past)
tètwãkùbá	(we did not hit)
túnáákúbà	(we shall hit — Near Future)
túlìkùbá	(we shall hit — Far Future)
tètúlìkùbá	(we shall not hit)
tètùkùbá	(we should not hit)

6.4.3. The suffix /**-e**/ occurs in the Imperative with OPs other than 1st p. sg. /**N-**/; Near Future Indicative, negative; and Present Subjunctive, positive. Examples:

mùkúbè!	(hit him!)
bàkúbè!	(hit them!)
tètúúkúbè	(we shall not hit — Near Future)
tùkùbê	(we should hit)

6.4.4. The suffix /**-YE**/ occurs in the Perfect Indicative, positive and negative, and the Near Past Indicative, positive and negative. Examples:

túkùbyé	(we have hit)
tètúkúbyê	(we have not hit)
twãkúbyê	(we hit — Near Past)
tètwãkùbyé	(we did not hit)

The suffix /**-YE**/ has a number of allomorphs, some of them involving morphophonemic changes in the final consonant of the radical. The formation of the perfect stem, involving the suffix /**-YE**/, is described in 6.5.0.

6.5.0. THE PERFECT STEM.

6.5.1. The Perfect Stem of the verb, involving the suffix /**-YE**/, occurs in the Perfect Tense, positive and negative, and the Near Past Tense, positive and negative. In the rules of formation set out below, reflecting the distribution of allomorphs of the suffix /**-YE**/, we account only for the forms occurring in our corpus. Further investigation may reveal additional rules and allomorphs of /**-YE**/, or may require modification of those presented here. This is probable in respect of perfect stems of radicals incorporating the passive extension /**-w-** ∞ **-ibw-** ∼ **-ebw-**/, to which no reference is made here.

6.5.2. The suffix /**-YE**/ has allomorphs /**-ye** ∼ **-za** ∞ **-izza** ∼ **-ezza** ∞ **-e** ∞ **-i** ∞ **-dde** ∞ **-tte**/. In some cases distinctive allomorphs of the radicals occur with this suffix, and these are given in parentheses. Note that /**-dde**/ and /**-tte**/ occur only with CV bases.

(1) The suffix /**-tte**/ occurs only with two CV bases, both of which are allomorphs of CVC radicals.

kù-kwât-á	(∞ **-ku-**)	(to seize, grasp; to curdle, freeze, set)	> **-kûtté**
kù-twâl-á	(∞ **-tu-**)	(to take)	**-tûtté**

N.B. /**-kûtté**/ has a variant /**-kwâsé**/ < /**-kwat-** + **-ye**/, see 6.5.2 (7).

(2) The suffix /**-dde**/ occurs with all other CV bases than those listed in (1) above; two of these are allomorphs of CC radicals, the remainder being allomorphs of C radicals.

kû-ggw-á	(∞ **-we-**)	(to become finished)	>	**-wêddé**
kû-ggy-á	(∞ **-yi-**)	(to burn, int.)		**-yîddé**
kù-gy-á	(∞ **-gi-**)	(to fit in)		**-gĭddè**
kù-ly-â	(∞ **-li-**)	(to eat)		**-lîddé**
kù-ty-â	(∞ **-ti-**)	(to fear)		**-tîddé**
kù-cw-â	(∞ **-cwe-**)	(to sneak off)		**-cwêddé**
kù-ky-â	(∞ **-ke-**)	(to clear up, to dawn)		**-kêddé**
kù-mw-á	(∞ **-mwe-**)	(to shave)		**-mwĕddè**
kù-nyw-â	(∞ **-nywe-**)	(to drink)		**-nywêddé**
kù-s-á	(∞ **-se-**)	(to grind)		**-sĕddè**
kù-b-â	(∞ **-ba-**)	(to be)		**-bâddé**
kù-t-â	(∞ **-ta-**)	(to let go, release)		**-tâddé**
kù-w-â	(∞ **-wa-**)	(to give)		**-wâddé**
kù-f-â	(∞ **-fu-**)	(to die)		**-fûddé**
kù-gw-á	(∞ **-gu-**)	(to fall)		**-gŭddè**
kù-lw-á	(∞ **-lu-**)	(to delay, be late)		**-lŭddè**
kù-v-á	(∞ **-vu-**)	(to come from)		**-vŭddè**

N.B. Historically, the suffix /**-dde**/ derives from PB /***-ɟle**/.

(3) The suffix /**-i**/ occurs with only one radical:

kù-mány-á	(to know)	>	**-mànyî**

(4) The suffix /**-e**/ occurs with a few radicals ending in /**y, ny, CCy**/, e.g.

kŭ-ggy-á	(to take away, remove)	>	**-ˋggyê**
kù-séèyééy-á	(to float, glide, drift)		**-sééyèèyé**
kù-tônny-á	(to rain)		**-tônnyé**
kù-wúny-à	(to smell, stink)		**-wúnyè**
kù-zãnny-á	(to play)		**-zãnnyè**

(5) The suffix /**-za**/ occurs with most CVC+, CVVC+, CCVC+ and VVC+ radicals ending in /**Vz**/, i.e. /**z**/ preceded by a single vowel. (Note that some radicals ending in /**Vz**/ take the suffixes /**-izza** ~ **-ezza**/, see (6) below, but there is dialectal alternation in at least some cases, e.g. /**kù-sûngúwáz-á**/ (to annoy or anger) > /**-sŭngúwãzzâ** ≃ **-sŭngúwázĭzzâ**/).

kw-ãnílíz-á	(to welcome, invite)	>	**-àànílĭzzâ**
kŭ-kkílíz-á	(to believe, agree)		**-ˋkkílĭzzâ**
kŭ-ddààbílíz-á	(to repair)		**-ˊddáábílĭzzâ**
kù-zíyíz-á	(to prevent, stop)		**-zìyĭzzâ**
kù-wéèléz-á	(to send, serve)		**-wéélĕzzâ**
kù-nyígílíz-á	(to oppress)		**-nyìgílĭzzâ**
kù-yígìlíz-á	(to teach)		**-yígílĭzzâ**
kù-bónèléz-á	(to punish)		**-bónélĕzzâ**
kù-wólèléz-á	(to plead for)		**-wólélĕzzâ**

(6) The suffixes /**-izza** ~ **-ezza**/ occur with a few CVC+ radicals ending in /**Vz**/, most radicals ending in /**y, ny, c**/,[4] and all others ending in /**z, s, Cy**/; /**-izza**/ occurs with CC radicals and after radical-final primary vowels /**i, a, u**/, /**-ezza**/ after radical-final secondary vowels /**e, o**/.

kù-góbéz-á	(to cheat)	>	**-gòbézɛ̃zzâ**
kù-jágùz-á	(to rejoice)		**-jágúzĩzzâ**
kù-zíkìz-á	(to extinguish)		**-zíkízĩzzâ**
kw-ãyùùy-á	(to yawn)	>	**-ááyúúyĩzzâ**
kw-ãngúy-á	(to make haste)		**-ãngúyĩzzâ**
kw-ɔ̃y-á	(to crave specific food)		**-ɔ̀ɔ̀yɛ̃zzâ**
kù-nóòny-á	(to seek, look for)	>	**-nóónyɛ̃zzâ**
kù-tégàny-á	(to annoy)		**-tégányĩzzâ**
kù-lyâzáámáány-á	(to cheat)		**-lyãzáámáányĩzzâ**
kù-póóc-a	(to feel unwell with flu or cold)	>	**-póócɛ̃zzâ**
kù-cácãnc-á	(to feel elated)		**-cácãncĩzzâ**
kù-cênc-á	(to run)		**-cɛ̃ncɛ̃zzâ**
kù-côcc-á	(to taunt, tease)		**-cɔ̃ccɛ̃zzâ** ≃ **-côssé**[5]
kw-ãz-á	(to search)	>	**-ààzĩzzâ**
kw-ôz-á	(to launder, wash)		**-óózɛ̃zzâ**
kù-sáz-à	(to cut with)		**-sázĩzzâ**
kù-yúz-á	(to tear, rend)		**-yùzĩzzâ**
kǔ-jjùz-á	(to fill)		**- ʼjjúzĩzzâ**
kù-búùz-á	(to ask)		**-búúzĩzzâ**
kù-tégèèz-á	(to inform)	>	**-tégéézɛ̃zzâ**
kù-lówóóz-á	(to think, suppose)		**-lòwóózɛ̃zzâ**
kù-sînz-á	(to worship)		**-sînzĩzzâ**
kù-yînz-á	(to be able, capable)		**-yînzĩzzâ**
kû-zz-á	(to return, give back)		**- ʼzzĩzzâ**
kw-ɛ̃s-á	(to play **mwɛ̃só** game)	>	**-ɛ̀ɛ̀sɛ̃zzâ**
kw-âs-á	(to split, trs)		**-áásĩzzâ**
kw-ôs-á	(to miss attendance)		**-óósɛ̃zzâ**
kǔ-ss-á	(to put down; to breathe)		**- ʽssĩzzâ**
kû-ss-á	(to cause to kill)		**- ʼssĩzzâ**
kù-sús-á	(to husk)		**-sùsĩzzâ**
kù-yíìs-á	(to cook sufficiently)		**-yíísĩzzâ**
kù-kózès-á	(to use)		**-kózésɛ̃zzâ**
kù-pákàs-á	(to work for money)		**-pákásĩzzâ**
kù-sányùs-á	(to please)		**-sányúsĩzzâ**
kù-gólókós-á	(to rouse)		**-gòlókósɛ̃zzâ**
kù-lɔ̃ngóós-á	(to arrange, prepare)		**-lɔ̃ngóósɛ̃zzâ**

[4] Some of these take the suffixes /**-e**/, see (4) above, or /**-ye**/, see (7) below.
[5] The variant /**-cosse**/ < /**-cocc-** + **-ye**/, see (7) below.

kw-ãby-á	(to dismantle)	>	**-ààbĭzzâ**
kw-õky-á	(to roast, incinerate)		**-òòkĕzzâ**
kù-límy-á	(to cultivate with)		**-lìmĭzzâ**
kù-nyúmy-á	(to converse)		**-nyùmĭzzâ**
kù-síby-á	(to bind with)		**-sìbĭzzâ**

(7) The suffix /**-ye**/ occurs with radicals ending in /**p, b, m**; **t, k**; **d, j, g**; **w, n, ŋ, l**/, and in the corresponding nasal clusters and geminate clusters, and with some radicals ending in /**cc**/. Morphophonemic changes in final consonants occur as follows when /**-ye**/ is suffixed, both consonants being affected in the case of geminate clusters:

Labials /**p, b, m**/:		No Change	
Other Voiceless Stops	/**t, c, k**/	>	/**s**/
Other Voiced Stops	/**d, j, g**/	>	/**z**/
Other Continuants:	/**w**/	>	/**y**/
	/**n, ŋ**/	>	/**ny**/
	/**l**/	>	/**z ~ dd**/

Examples:

(*a*) /**p + -ye > -pye**/, /**b + -ye > -bye**/, /**m + -ye > -mye**/.

ku-loop-a	(to accuse)	>	**-loopye**
kù-láb-à	(to see)		**-lábyè**
kù-káàb-á	(to cry, call)		**-káàbyé**
kù-yîmb-á	(to sing)		**-yîmbyé**
kû-bb-á	(to steal)		**- ʹbbyè**
kù-lúm-à	(to bite)		**-lúmyè**
kù-líím-á	(to spy)		**-líímyè**
kù-búgùm-á	(to become hot)		**-búgùmyé**
kw-ãsàm-á	(to open the mouth)		**-áásàmyé**
kû-mm-á	(to be stingy)		**- ʹmmyè**

(*b*) /**t, c, k + -ye > -se**/.

kù-wét-á	(to bend)	>	**-wèsê**
kù-léèt-á	(to bring)		**-léèsé**
kù-sélẽngét-á	(to descend)		**-sélẽngèsé**
kû-tt-á	(to kill)		**- ʹssè**
kw-ôt-á	(to bask)		**-óósè**
kù-pãcc-á	(to slap, smack)		**-pãssè**
kù-côcc-á	(to taunt, tease)		**-côssé**
kù-fúk-á	(to pour)		**-fùsê**
kù-búúk-á	(to fly)		**-búúsè**
kw-ãnìk-á	(to put out to dry)		**-áánìsé**
kû-kk-á	(to descend)		**- ʽssê**
kù-bĭkk-á	(to cover)		**-bĭssè**

(*c*) /**d, j, g + -ye > -ze**/.

kù-tűnd-á	(to sell)	>	**-tűnzè**
kû-dd-á	(to return, go back)		**- ʹzzè**
kû-ij-á	(to come)		**- ʽzzê**
kù-bãjj-á	(to work in wood)		**-bãzzè**
kù-lĭjj-á	(to tether)		**-lĭzzè**
kù-lóg-á	(to bewitch)		**-lòzê**
kù-sáàg-á	(to jest)		**-sáàzé**
kù-tûng-á	(to sew)		**-tûnzé**
kù-yîgg-á	(to hunt)		**-yîzzé**

(*d*) /**w** + **-ye** > **-ye**/.

kù-síw-á	(to mash, mix thoroughly)[6]	>	**-sìyê**
kù-kyãw-á	(to hate)		**-kyãyè**
kù-sííw-á	(to itch)		**-sííyè**
kw-ãngúw-á	(to be quick)		**-ãngùyé**

(*e*) /**n, ŋ** + **-ye** > **-nye**/.

kù-fún-à	(to obtain, receive)	>	**-fúnyè**
kù-gáàn-á	(to refuse, deny)		**-gáànyé**
kw-ãn-á	(to cry very much)		**-àànyê**
kw-ő̀nòòn-á	(to damage, spoil)		**-óónòònyé**
kù-ŋóóŋ-á	(to bellow)		**-ŋóónyè**

(*f*) /**l** + **-ye** > **-ze** ~ **-dde**/. The termination /**-ze**/ occurs only with CVC and VVC (simplex) radicals ending in /**l**/.

kù-bál-á	(to count)	>	**-bàzê**
kù-gúl-á	(to buy)		**-gùzê**
kù-kól-à	(to do, work)		**-kózè**
kù-sál-à	(to cut)		**-sázè**
kw-ãl-á	(to make a bed)		**-ààzê**
kw-âl-á	(to increase, int.)		**-áázè**
kw-ẽl-á	(to sweep)		**-èèzê**
kw-êl-á	(to be plentiful)		**-éézè**
kw-ôl-á	(to bring up, raise)[7]		**-óózè**

The termination /**-dde**/ occurs with all other types (extended) of radical ending in /**l**/, i.e. CVC+, VVC+, VVNC+, CVVC, CVVC+, CVNC+, CVCC+, CC+.

kù-sásúl-á	(to pay)	>	**-sàsûddé**
kù-támííl-á	(to get drunk)		**-tàmîddé**
kù-gálámíl-á	(to lie down)		**-gàlámĩddé**
kw-ãgál-á	(to like, love, want)		**-ààgâddé**
kw-ẽsél-á	(to water cattle)		**-èèsêddé**
kw-ãmbál-á	(to put on clothes)		**-ãmbãddé**
kw-õngél-á	(to increase, trs)		**-őngẽddé**
kù-túùl-á	(to sit down)		**-tûddé**
kù-kyâl-á	(to visit)		**-kyâddé**
kù-lwâl-á	(to be ill)		**-lwâddé**
kù-súúbíl-á	(to hope)		**-súúbĩddé**
kù-tyőbóól-á	(to swear)		**-tyőbõddé**
kù-bwâtúl-á	(to break forcibly)		**-bwãtûddé**
kù-gẽndél-á	(to go to, for)		**-gẽndẽddé**
kù-sőngól-á	(to sharpen)		**-sőngõddé**
kù-yĩngíl-á	(to enter)		**-yĩngĩddé**
kù-bôggól-á	(to bark)		**-bőggõddé**
kù-sőggól-á	(to dig up)		**-sőggõddé**
kù-gâggáwál-á	(to become rich)		**-gãggàwãddé**
kù-ggál-á	(to shut, close)		**-ˋggâddé**
kű-jjùl-á	(to become full)		**-ˊjjũddé**
kű-ddùgál-á	(to become black)		**-ˊddùgãddé**

N.B. Historically, the termination /**-dde**/ derives from /***-l-le**/, i.e. radical-final /**l**/, plus suffix /**-le**/ < PB /***-jle**/, /**dd**/ being the correlate of /***ll**/ (see 1.2.4).

[6] So as to eliminate lumps of sorghum flour in banana juice, when making beer.
[7] e.g. an orphan or a dog.

Chapter 7

THE VERB: CONJUGATION

7.1.0. INTRODUCTION.

7.1.1. Ganda verbal forms and tenses may be divided into two major groups, (*a*) non-finite forms (Infinitive and Imperative), which do not incorporate a Subject Prefix, and (*b*) finite tenses, which always incorporate a Subject Prefix. Both non-finite and finite structures may incorporate Object Prefixes and/or the Reflexive Prefix.

7.1.2. The finite tenses described here may be classified into two moods, Indicative and Subjunctive. A number of these tenses are simple or monoverbal, involving only one verbal radical; others are compound, involving an auxiliary verb and a complementary verb. In this study we confine ourselves to a description of six simple tenses and nine compound tenses of the Indicative Mood, and one simple tense of the Subjunctive Mood. We do not have data on tenses involving the affixes /**ne-** ~ **n-**/, /**-aaka-**/, /**-kya-**/, /**-ndi-**/, /**-nna-**/, /**-nga**/ (see 6.3.5 and 6.4.1), nor on tense structures in relative clauses.

7.2.0. THE INFINITIVE.

7.2.1. The Infinitive has two forms, positive and negative, both of which are structurally nouns. Both positive and negative infinitives may incorporate Object Prefixes and/or the Reflexive Prefix. The basic tonal forms of verbs occur in the positive infinitive.

7.2.2. The Positive Infinitive is a noun of Cl. 15, with prefix /**ku-** ~ **kw-**/, the structural pattern being /**ku**-R-**a**/ or /**kw**-R-**a**/.

kùmwá	(to shave)
kùwâ	(to give)
kùsábá	(to entreat)
kùkúbà	(to hit, strike, beat)
kùlĩndá	(to wait for)
kùbúùzá	(to ask)
kùsásúlá	(to pay)
kùsónyìwá	(to forgive)
kusõngólá	(to sharpen to a point)
kùtâmbúlá	(to walk)
kũggyá	(to remove, take away, uproot)
kûttá	(to kill)
kũggálá	(to shut, close)
kűddùká	(to run)
kwãzá	(to search)
kwôzá	(to launder)
kwãmbázá	(to dress, trs.)
kwãzìká	(to lend something other than money)

7.2.3. The Negative Infinitive is a noun of Cl. 14, with prefix /**bu-**/ and negative prefix /**-ta-**/, the structural pattern being /**bu-ta-**R**-a**/.

bùtámwâ	(not to shave)
bùtáwà	(not to give)
bùtásábâ	(not to entreat)
bùtákùbá	(not to hit)
bùtálĩndà	(not to wait)
bùtábùùzá	(not to ask)
bùtãggyà	(not to remove)
bùtâttá	(not to kill)

7.3.0. THE IMPERATIVE.

7.3.1. Ganda apparently has only one Imperative form, the positive singular, addressed as a positive command to one person. Unlike many other Bantu languages, Ganda has no negative Imperative nor plural Imperative. Negative commands and commands to more than one person are expressed by the use of certain finite tenses, notably the Present Indicative (see 7.4.2) and the Present Subjunctive (see 7.5.1). Imperatives may incorporate one or more Object Prefixes, but apparently not the Reflexive Prefix. Commands involving the Reflexive Prefix are expressed in the Present Subjunctive.

7.3.2. Imperative without Object Prefix.

This is the simplest verbal form in Ganda, consisting of the radical with basic suffix /**-a**/, the pattern therefore being /R**-a**/. In the Imperative without OP there is no tonal distinction between verbs of Tonal Series A and B. The yC allomorphs of V-commencing radicals are used.

mwâ!	(shave!)	cf.	**kù-mw-á**
wâ!	(give!)		**kù-w-â**
bàlá!	(count!)		**kù-bál-á**
làbá!	(look!)		**kù-láb-à**
lĩndá!	(wait!)		**kù-lĩnd-á**
búùzá!	(ask!)		**kù-búùz-á**
sàsúlà!	(pay!)		**kù-sásúl-á**
sònyíwà!	(forgive!)		**kù-sónyìw-á**
sõngòlá!	(sharpen!)		**kù-sõngól-á**
tãmbùlá!	(walk!)		**kù-tâmbúl-á**
yàzá!	(search!)		**kw-ãz-á**
yòzá!	(launder!)		**kw-ôz-á**
yãmbàlá!	(dress!)		**kw-ãmbál-á**
yàníkà!	(put out to dry!)		**kw-ãnìk-á**
'ssá!	(breathe! put down!)		**kũ-ss-á**
'ttá!	(kill!)		**kû-tt-á**
'ggálà!	(close!)		**kũ-ggál-á**
'ddúkà!	(run!)		**kũ-ddùk-á**

7.3.3. Imperatives with 1st p. sg. OP.

With this OP the suffix is /**-a**/, the pattern being /OP-R**-a**/, and there is no tonal distinction between verbs of Tonal Series A and B.

'mmwâ!	(shave me!)	cf.	**kù-mw-á**
'mpâ!	(give me!)		**kù-w-â**
'nsàbâ!	(entreat me!)		**kù-sáb-á**
'nkùbâ!	(hit me!)		**kù-kúb-à**
'nnĭndâ!	(wait for me!)		**kù-lĭnd-á**
'mbùùzâ!	(ask me!)		**kù-búùz-á**
'nsàsùlâ!	(pay me!)		**kù-sásúl-á**
'nsònyìwâ!	(forgive me!)		**kù-sónyìw-á**
'nsĭndĭkâ!	(push me!)		**kù-sĭndík-á**
'mbùùlĭlâ!	(tell me!)		**kù-búùlíl-á**
'nnyămbàzâ!	(dress me!)		**kw-ămbáz-á**
'njàzìkâ!	(lend me!)		**kw-ăzìk-á**
'nzìtâ!	(kill me!)		**kû-tt-á**

7.3.4. Imperatives with other OPs.

The suffix with all OPs other than 1st p. sg. /**N-**/ is /**-e**/, the pattern therefore being /OP-R-**e**/. The tonal distinction between verbs of Tonal Series A and B is maintained, except with C radicals.

mùmwê!	(shave him!)	cf.	**kù-mw-á**
mùwê!	(give him!)		**kù-w-â**
mùsàbê!	(entreat him!)		**kù-sáb-á**
mùkúbè!	(hit him!)		**kù-kúb-à**
bàsàsúlè!	(pay them!)		**kù-sásúl-á**
bàsónyìwé!	(forgive them!)		**kù-sónyìw-á**
tùlĭndè!	(wait for us!)		**kù-lĭnd-á**
tùbúùzé!	(ask us!)		**kù-búùz-á**
zĭggyê!	(remove them!)		**kŭ-ggy-á**
zĭttè!	(kill them!)		**kû-tt-á**
mwămbázè!	(dress him!)		**kw-ămbáz-á**
mwăzìké!	(lend him!)		**kw-ănìk-á**

7.4.0. THE INDICATIVE MOOD.

7.4.1. The Indicative is the mood of ordinary statement and question. All of the tenses described here have both positive and negative forms. Six of the tenses are simple or monoverbal, and are conveniently termed the Present, Perfect, Near Past, Far Past, Near Future and Far Future. Besides these, we outline the structures of nine compound tenses, termed the Perfect Continuous, Near Past Continuous, Near Past Perfect, Far Past Continuous, Far Past Perfect, Near Future Continuous, Near Future Perfect, Far Future Continuous and Far Future Perfect. These compound tenses are composed of auxiliary verbs with either the Present or the Perfect as complement.

7.4.2. *The Present Tense* indicates an action in progress at the time of speaking, or an occupational or customary activity, i.e. indicating what the subject of the verb ordinarily does. Present Tense forms are also used in expressing commands, and sometimes with a future implication.

(1) Present Tense, Positive.
Pattern: SP-R-**a**

ˈngúlá	(I buy)	**túgùlá**	(we buy)
ŏgúlá	(you sg. buy)	**múgùlá**	(you pl. buy)
ägúlá	(he buys)	**bágùlá**	(they buy)
ˈnjélá	(I sweep)	cf. R: **-eel-** ~ **-yel-**	
ŏyélá	(you sg. sweep)		
twêlá	(we sweep)		
ˈnzígyá	(I remove)	cf. R: **-ggy-** ~ **-zigy-**	
ŏggyá	(you sg. remove)		
tûggyá	(we remove)		

(2) Present Tense, Negative.
Pattern: **te**-SP-R-**a**

sígúlâ	(I do not buy)
tógúlâ	(you sg. do not buy)
tágúlâ	(he does not buy)
tètúgúlâ	(we do not buy)
tèmúgúlâ	(you pl. do not buy)
tèbágúlâ	(they do not buy)
séélâ	(I do not sweep)
tóyélâ	(you sg. do not sweep)
tètwẽlâ	(we do not sweep)
sĩggyâ	(I do not remove)
tőggyâ	(you sg. do not remove)
tètűggyâ	(we do not remove)

7.4.3. *The Perfect Tense* indicates that the action has been carried out in recent time, with the implication that its results or effects persist in present time. This is particularly noticeable with Inchoative Radicals, which express entry into a state or position. In the Perfect Tense these express a state or position in present time.

(1) Perfect Tense, Positive.
Pattern: SP-R-**YE**

ˈngùzê	(I have bought)
ŏgùzê	(you sg. have bought)
túgúzê	(we have bought)
ˈnjèzê	(I have swept)
ŏyèzê	(you sg. have swept)
twẽzê	(we have swept)
ˈnzìgyê	(I have removed)
ŏggyê	(you sg. have removed)
tűggyê	(we have removed)

(2) Perfect Tense, Negative.
Pattern: **te**-SP-R-**YE**

sígúzê	(I have not bought)
tógúzê	(you sg. have not bought)
tètúgúzê	(we have not bought)
séézê	(I have not sewpt)
tóyézê	(you sg. have not swept)
tètwẽzê	(we have not swept)
sĩggyê	(I have not removed)
tõggyê	(you sg. have not removed)
tètũggyê	(we have not removed)

7.4.4. *The Near Past Tense* indicates that the action has been carried out and completed in relatively recent time, usually within the previous eighteen hours.

(1) Near Past Tense, Positive.
Pattern: SP-**aa**-R-**YE**

nágúzê	(I bought)
wágúzê	(you sg. bought)
twãgúzê	(we bought)
báágúzê	(they bought)
náyézê	(I swept)
wáyézê	(you sg. swept)
twãyézê	(we swept)
nãggyê	(I removed)
wãggyê	(you sg. removed)
twãggyê	(we removed)
bãggyê	(they removed)

(2) Near Past Tense, Negative.
Pattern: **te**-SP-**aa**-R-**YE**

sáágùzé	(I did not buy)
tèwágùzé	(you sg. did not buy)
tètwãgùzé	(we did not buy)
sááyèzé	(I did not sweep)
tèwáyèzé	(you sg. did not sweep)
tètwãyèzé	(we did not sweep)
sãggyè	(I did not remove)
tèwãggyè	(you sg. did not remove)
tètwãggyè	(we did not remove)

7.4.5. *The Far Past Tense* indicates that the action was carried out at some unspecified time, or at some relatively remote time, usually more than eighteen hours previously.

(1) Far Past Tense, Positive.
Pattern: SP-**aa**-R-**a**

nàgúlà	(I bought)
wàgúlà	(you sg. bought)
twãgùlá	(we bought)
báágùlá	(they bought)
nàyélà	(I swept)
wàyélà	(you sg. swept)
twãyèlá	(we swept)
nãggyà	(I removed)
wãggyà	(you sg. removed)
twãggyà	(we removed)
bãggyà	(they removed)

(2) Far Past Tense, Negative.
Pattern: **te**-SP-**aa**-R-**a**

sáágùlá	(I did not buy)
tèwàgúlà	(you sg. did not buy)
tètwãgùlá	(we did not buy)
tèbáágùlá	(they did not buy)
sááyèlá	(I did not sweep)
tèwàyélà	(you sg. did not sweep)
tètwãyèlá	(we did not sweep)
sãggyà	(I did not remove)
tèwãggyà	(you sg. did not remove)
tètwãggyà	(we did not remove)

7.4.6. *The Near Future Tense* indicates that the action will be carried out in the relatively near future, usually within eighteen hours.

(1) Near Future Tense, Positive.
Pattern: SP-**naa**-R-**a**

ˈnnáàgúlá	(I shall buy)
ǒnóògúlá	(you sg. will buy)
túnàágúlá	(we shall buy)
ˈnnáàyélá	(I shall sweep)
ˈnnâggyá	(I shall remove)
ǒnôggyá	(you sg. will remove)
túnãggyá	(we shall remove)

(2) Near Future Tense, Negative.
Pattern: **te**-SP-**V**-R-**e**

síígúlê	(I shall not buy)
tóógúlê	(you sg. will not buy)
táágúlê	(he will not buy)
tètúúgúlê	(we shall not buy)
sííyélê	(I shall not sweep)
sĩggyê	(I shall not remove)
tőggyê	(you sg. will not remove)
tètűggyê	(we shall not remove)

7.4.7. *The Far Future Tense* indicates that the action will be carried out at some unspecified time, or in the relatively remote future, usually after more than eighteen hours.

(1) Far Future Tense, Positive.
Pattern: SP-**li**-R-**a**

ˈndígùlá	(I shall buy)
ðlígùlá	(you sg. will buy)
túlìgùlá	(we shall buy)
ˈndyêlá	(I shall sweep)
ðlyêlá	(you sg. will sweep)
túlyĕlá	(we shall sweep)
ˈndîggyá	(I shall remove)
ðlîggyá	(you sg. will remove)
túlĭggyá	(we shall remove)

(2) Far Future Tense, Negative.
Pattern: **te**-SP-**li**-R-**a**

sílìgùlá	(I shall not buy)
tólìgùlá	(you sg. will not buy)
tètúlìgùlá	(we shall not buy)
sílyĕlá	(I shall not sweep)
tólyĕlá	(you sg. will not sweep)
tètúlyĕlá	(we shall not sweep)
sílĭggya	(I shall not remove)
tólĭggyá	(you sg. will not remove)
tètúlĭggyá	(we shall not remove)

7.4.8. *The Perfect Continuous Tense* indicates that the subject of the verb has recently been occupied in the activity designated by the radical.

(1) Perfect Continuous Tense, Positive.
Pattern: SP-**badde** + SP-R-**a**

ˈmbãddê ˈngúlá	(I have been buying)
ðbãddê ðgúlá	(you sg. have been buying)
túbãddé túgùlá	(we have been buying)

(2) Perfect Continuous Tense, Negative.
Pattern: SP-**badde** + **te**-SP-R-**a**

ˈmbãddé sígúlâ	(I have not been buying)
ðbãddé tógúlâ	(you sg. have not been buying)
túbãddê tètúgúlâ	(we have not been buying)

7.4.9. *The Near Past Continuous Tense* indicates that the action was in progress at some specified point in relatively recent time, usually within the previous eighteen hours.

(1) Near Past Continuous Tense, Positive.
Pattern: SP-**aa**-**badde** + SP-R-**a**

nábãddê ˈngúlá	(I was buying)
wábãddê ðgúlá	(you sg. were buying)
twãbãddé túgùlá	(we were buying)

(2) Near Past Continuous Tense, Negative.
Pattern: SP-**aa-badde** + **te**-SP-R-**a**

nábãddé sígúlâ	(I was not buying)
wábãddé tógúlâ	(you sg. were not buying)
twãbãddê tètúgúlâ	(we were not buying)

7.4.10. *The Near Past Perfect Tense* indicates that the action had been completed at some specified point in relatively recent time, usually within the previous eighteen hours.

(1) Near Past Perfect Tense, Positive.
Pattern: SP-**aa-badde** + SP-R-**YE**

nábãddê ˈngùzê	(I had bought)
wábãddê ŏgùzê	(you sg. had bought)
twãbãddé túgúzê	(we had bought)

(2) Near Past Perfect Tense, Negative.
Pattern: SP-**aa-badde** + **te**-SP-R-**YE**

nábãddé sígúzê	(I had not bought)
wábãddé tógúzê	(you sg. had not bought)
twãbãddê tètúgúzê	(we had not bought)

7.4.11. *The Far Past Continuous Tense* indicates that the action was in progress at some specified point in relatively remote time, usually more than eighteen hours previously.

(1) Far Past Continuous Tense, Positive.
Pattern: SP-**aa-li** + SP-R-**a**

nàlî ˈngúlá	(I was buying)
wàlî ŏgúlá	(you sg. were buying)
twãlí túgùlá	(we were buying)

(2) Far Past Continuous Tense, Negative.
Pattern: SP-**aa-li** + **te**-SP-R-**a**

nàlí sígúlâ	(I was not buying)
wàlí tógúlâ	(you sg. were not buying)
twãlî tètúgúlâ	(we were not buying)

7.4.12. *The Far Past Perfect Tense* indicates that the action had been completed at some specified point in relatively remote time, usually more than eighteen hours previously.

(1) Far Past Perfect Tense, Positive.
Pattern: SP-**aa-li** + SP-R-**YE**

nàlî ˈngùzê	(I had bought)
wàlî ŏgùzê	(you sg. had bought)
twãlí túgúzê	(we had bought)

(2) Far Past Perfect Tense, Negative.
Pattern: SP-**aa-li** + **te**-SP-R-**YE**

nàlí sígúzê	(I had not bought)
wàlí tógúzê	(you sg. had not bought)
twãlî tètúgúzê	(we had not bought)

7.4.13. *The Near Future Continuous Tense* indicates that the action will be in progress at some specified point in the relatively near future, usually within eighteen hours.

(1) Near Future Continuous Tense, Positive.
Pattern: SP-**naa-ba** + SP-R-**a**

ˈnnáábâ ˈngúlá	(I shall be buying)
ðnóóbâ ðgúlá	(you sg. will be buying)
túnáábá túgùlá	(we shall be buying)

(2) Near Future Continuous Tense, Negative.
Pattern: SP-**naa-ba** + **te**-SP-R-**a**

ˈnnáábá sígúlâ	(I shall not be buying)
ðnóóbá tógúlâ	(you sg. will not be buying)
túnáábâ tètúgúlâ	(we shall not be buying)

7.4.14. *The Near Future Perfect Tense* indicates that the action will have been completed at some specified point in the relatively near future, usually within eighteen hours.

(1) Near Future Perfect Tense, Positive.
Pattern: SP-**naa-ba** + SP-R-**YE**

ˈnnáábâ ˈngùzê	(I shall have bought)
ðnóóbâ ðgùzê	(you sg. will have bought)
túnáábá túgúzê	(we shall have bought)

(2) Near Future Perfect Tense, Negative.
Pattern: SP-**naa-ba** + **te**-SP-R-**YE**

ˈnnáábá sígúzê	(I shall not have bought)
ðnóóbá tógúzê	(you sg. will not have bought)
túnáábâ tètúgúzê	(we shall not have bought)

7.4.15. *The Far Future Continuous Tense* indicates that the action will be in progress at some specified point in the relatively remote future, usually after more than eighteen hours.

(1) Far Future Continuous Tense, Positive.
Pattern: SP-**li-ba** + SP-R-**a**

ˈndíbâ ˈngúlá	(I shall be buying)
ðlíbâ ðgúlá	(you sg. will be buying)
túlíbá túgùlá	(we shall be buying)

(2) Far Future Continuous Tense, Negative.
Pattern: SP-**li-ba** + **te**-SP-R-**a**

ˈndíbá sígúlâ	(I shall not be buying)
ðlíbá tógúlâ	(you sg. will not be buying)
túlíbâ tètúgúlâ	(we shall not be buying)

7.4.16. *The Far Future Perfect Tense* indicates that the action will have been completed at some specified point in the relatively remote future, usually after more than eighteen hours.

(1) Far Future Perfect Tense, Positive.
Pattern: SP-**li-ba** + SP-R-**YE**

ˈndíbâ ˈngùzê	(I shall have bought)
ǒlíbâ ǒgùzê	(you sg. will have bought)
túlíbá túgúzê	(we shall have bought)

(2) Far Future Perfect Tense, Negative.
Pattern: SP-**li-ba** + **te**-SP-R-**YE**

ˈndíbá sígúzê	(I shall not have bought)
ǒlíbá tógúzê	(you sg. will not have bought)
túlíbâ tètúgúzê	(we shall not have bought)

7.5.0. THE SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

7.5.1. Only one tense of the Subjunctive Mood is represented in our data and described here. This is termed, for convenience, the Present Tense, and has both positive and negative forms. This tense occurs in the following constructions:

(*a*) In dependent clauses expressing purpose or reason, after verbs of commanding, instruction, telling or allowing;
(*b*) In expressing commands and exhortations;
(*c*) After an Imperative, to express the second and subsequent in a sequence of commands;
(*d*) In permissive interrogation.

7.5.2. The Present Tense, Positive.
Pattern: SP-R-**e**

ˈngùlê	(I should buy)
ǒgùlê	(you sg. should buy)
tùgùlê	(we should buy)
ˈnjèlê	(I should sweep)
ǒyèlê	(you sg. should sweep)
twɛ̃lê	(we should sweep)
ˈnzìgyê	(I should remove)
ǒggyê	(you sg. should remove)
tǔggyê	(we should remove)

7.5.3. The Present Tense, Negative.
Pattern: **te**-SP-R-**a**

sìgùlâ	(I should not buy)
tògùlâ	(you sg. should not buy)
tètùgùlâ	(we should not buy)
sèèlâ	(I should not sweep)
tòyèlâ	(you sg. should not sweep)
tètwɛ̃lâ	(we should not sweep)
sĭggyâ	(I should not remove)
tŏggyâ	(you sg. should not remove)
tètŭggyâ	(we should not remove)

N.B. When following the Present Subjunctive Negative, a noun object retains its Initial Vowel, whereas after all other negative tenses the IV is omitted.

Tòkùbà ǒmwâná	(Don't/You shouldn't hit the child)
Tòyòtà ǒmúlíló	(Don't/You shouldn't warm yourself at the fire)